













**Report Of  
The General Secretaries**

**From January 1955 to February 1956**

**INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

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### **NOTE**

We have pleasure in presenting to the AICC, as required under Article XXII (c) of the Congress Constitution, the Report for the period between the Avadi and Amritsar Sessions.

*Amritsar*

*February 9, 1956.*

SHRIMAN NARAYAN

K.P. MADHAVAN NAIR



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## AVADI SESSION

**A**MID scenes of popular enthusiasm vividly recalling the liveliness of pre-Independence days, the 60th Session of the Indian National Congress was held on Friday, January 21, 1955, at Satyamurti Nagar, Avadi (Madras). Twenty-seven years after the Congress at its Madras Session made history by adopting the goal of Independence for India, the City was privileged to be the venue of another annual Session of the Congress. This time it was the Diamond Jubilee Session, and, again, the Avadi Congress made history by the adoption of the resolution on a Socialistic Pattern of Society as the objective for India.

Few Congress leaders could remember any Congress Session in the recent past where so much careful thought and attention had been bestowed on the construction of the Pandal and other elaborate arrangements for the convenience of the delegates and visitors. The vast circular open-air pandal, artistically done with taste and distinction, was packed with over 300,000 people—men and women, from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and from Saurashtra to Manipur in diverse costumes and speaking many languages. The size of attendance and discipline of the audience at Avadi was a record.

The Session was unique in many respects. It was for the first time in the history of the Congress that a woman (Shrimati S. Ambujammal) was chosen Chairman of the Reception Committee, even as there had been women occupying the Congress gadi in the past. The Session was, again, high-lighted by the presence of Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, the occasion being rendered unique by the Head of a European State addressing a Congress Session in person. Marshal Tito who felt very homely at the Session, delivered an extempore speech



applauding our ideals of socialism, peace and co-existence, and wishing success to the Indian nation in its onward march towards the socialistic goal. He said that India had a great future beckoning her, and he was happy that the great and ancient country was following the new path of social reconstruction and planning. The large audience who felt elated by his presence and good wishes, gave him resounding cheers at the end of his speech.

### **The Exhibition :**

The Congress Exhibition had been organised on a much bigger scale than in previous years. Stalls were erected on a large site on the western side of the Congress grounds. Various State Governments as well as the Central Government had sent their exhibits for demonstration. The Planning Commission had specially erected its stall to depict the progress of the Five-Year Plan and, among the exhibits, the working models of Bhakra Nangal and other Projects, on show, were of great educative value. The Sarvodaya Samaj sections had occupied an area of over seven acres displaying various articles produced by them.

### **Presidential Address :**

The presidential address of Shri U. N. Dhebar, President of the 60th Session, was comprehensive in its content and amplitude, covering a large ground, social, national and international. The speech had the accents of a lofty idealism, moral earnestness and a distinctly progressive social outlook, quite in tune with the times in fast transition. It was evident that Shri Dhebar's references in his address to Mahatma Gandhi's social philosophy and revolutionary outlook were not merely a formal tribute to the Father of the Nation, but a bold reiteration of faith in Gandhian ends and means as forming the key to national regeneration and international harmony.

The President emphasised the need for Gandhian approach to the solution of all problems. Commending the country's dynamic policy of peace and non-alignment in the international field, Shri Dhebar complimented its author, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, as also the Government of India for its success.

"This policy", he said, "is the outcome of our cultural background and the noble principle on which our struggle for Independence was based. It is an inseparable part of a broader picture which has always been present in our minds, the picture of a social order based on truth and non-violence."

Speaking about the Portuguese possessions in India, the President sympathised with the people of the areas and assured them fullest moral support in their struggle for the merger of these areas with India. Adding that no harm was meant to Portuguese culture, he explained that for the people, freedom to India meant freedom to every part of India, including the foreign possessions.

While reviewing the achievements of the Congress Governments and the Congress Organisation since Independence, Shri Delhar mentioned the stupendous hurdles which stood in the way of progress when the Congress took over the reins. He said: "These handicaps, obstacles, burdens and cares and the grim picture of our backwardness were sufficient to break up any organisation and its leadership. We are proud, however, that neither the Organisation nor the leadership have for one moment given in to disappointment, impatience or frustration. We are also proud of our people who could withstand the strain of such a crisis, with full trust in the leadership."

The Congress President stated that the progress we registered in such a short time under the Five-Year Plan fortified popular confidence in their capacity to successfully carry the country through the vast socio-economic changes

now under way. Shri Dhebar discussed the Second Five-Year Plan and Agrarian Reforms. He laid particular stress on the problem of unemployment and declared that India needed large-scale expansion of cottage and small-scale industries to end economic distress. Cottage and small-scale industries, he added, must be given absolute priority, so that unemployment and under-employment might be eliminated within a period of ten years.

In regard to socio-economic changes, which India visualised, the Congress President expressed his conviction that "political democracy is unthinkable without social democracy" and that "any momentum in our progress is unthinkable unless an atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice is created." He reminded : "We in the Congress must be clear in our minds that genuine equality is unthinkable unless equal opportunities are made available to every citizen of India." A few essentials for achieving a social revolution were underlined. He pleaded for a total elimination of caste distinctions and a dynamic change in the system of education. Real progress was, again, impossible so long as women were denied their proper place in society. Regarding the backward classes, the President appealed to Congressmen to spare no effort, even independently of the Government, to help in their uplift and progress so that they could make the leeway as speedily as possible.

Shri Dhebar devoted a good part of his address to discussing the Congress and what it stands for. He said : "It (Congress) was a tear fallen from the suffering and agonised heart of a humanity in bondage, come to life. That tear was destined to be a stream, the stream a river and the river a mighty Ganges or Brahmaputra, which was to wash off the sins and weaknesses of ages, to weld the people of India together, breathe new life and new spirit into their hearts and carry them aloft, united, purified and strengthened, to their cherished goal. It was to be a force unparalleled in the history of the World. Its unarmed and

unsophisticated armies were to spread the message and undertake a mission the world has heard and worked for on rare occasions."

The Congress President then explained how Gandhiji's message and his unique methods had helped common people of the country to build up their inner strength, to re-create their personality. "That message was to cast off fear of everything and fight with indomitable will and courage for truth with the weapons of non-violence and love. It implied faith in the ultimate success of truth and non-violence and in the unfailing capacity of love to win over." The message did not aim at "mere political salvation, nor did it aim merely at outward economic and social changes. It aimed at a complete change of one's personality from within, resulting in a total change of his outlook."

Gandhiji's concept of freedom was comprehensive and revolutionary. "His mission embraced within it not only political freedom of the country, but also sought to secure social, economic and spiritual freedom. Democracy was the term that he used as his goal, but democracy was not limited, according to him, to the greatest good of the greatest number. His definition of democracy included the whole humanity, the last man being his first concern. The last man should be freed from his political bondage. He must be assured a livelihood, commensurate with the means of the society of which he is a part, keeping in view his reasonable needs, and finally he should receive every facility to regain his lost dignity and rebuild his personality." This was not meant only for the redemption of the individual but of the society as a whole.

Speaking about the present role of the Congress, Shri Dhebar said that with the change in the status of the country, had grown its responsibility, and as a pivotal organisation they could ignore neither the changes nor the

new responsibilities. After freedom, the first responsibility of the Congress was to give a stable Government to the people. He warned Congressmen against the tendency to reduce the Congress to a "mere Parliamentary Party, its chief function being to lay down policies, run elections and lead the Government or the Opposition." He said: "Power or no power, the Organisation must continue to play its role outside the framework of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of sacrifice and service." Elections are not the only concern of the Congress, not even the first. Elections are but a part of its bigger responsibility, even though it is a substantial part. In the final analysis, the work of social education and social service must continue unabated so that when elections come, they would also get their proper place in the Congress programme and not assume an exclusive place of honour and prestige."

The Congress President underlined the importance of savings and voluntary service and desired that Community Projects, National Extension Service Blocks and Gandhighars should become the concern of Congressmen, who should also support and identify themselves with the Bhoodan movement.

Laying stress on the significance of constructive work, Shri Dhebar said that it was only a live and wholesome organisation that could give strength to a popular Government, and if they realised that the Organisation was to develop its momentum to the full, they could not dispense with either the Charkha or Khadi and similar other items of the constructive programme. According to him, there were "only two weapons in the armoury of non-violence, one subjective and the other objective. On the subjective side, we have to build our strength through service and sacrifice. On the objective side, we have to win over the masses to a social order of our conception by identifying ourselves with them through constructive activities."

Shri Dhebar concluded his address on a note of quiet optimism : "While the atmosphere in the world is surcharged with a revolutionary spirit, India is also working out a revolution, though of a different character. The wheel of revolution must run its full course, so that not only India prospers but her stability and prosperity may be a beacon-light to the struggling humanity in other parts of the globe. It is in that wider context that we should look at the Indian revolution.

"Let us go ahead with our mission for peace in the world and progress and development of our country for which we have been striving all these seventy years."

### **Resolutions :**

The Congress passed as many as fourteen resolutions which were earlier adopted by the Subjects Committee and the Steering Committee.

The Congress, at the outset, expressed its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of fifty-four Congressmen including Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

In the next resolution the Congress objective was defined as "the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth."

As regards foreign establishments in India, the Congress expressed its satisfaction at the *de facto* transfer of the French Establishments to the Union of India. The Congress felt gratified that the historic change-over had taken place by means of a friendly settlement with the French Republic. With regard to the Portuguese settlements, the Congress was confident that they would also join the Indian Union before long and thus fulfil the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India.

In the resolution on International Affairs, the Congress recorded its full appreciation of the foreign policy of the Government of India. It warmly welcomed the five principles of international co-existence or *Panch Shila*. The Congress was of the view that these basic principles must inform and govern international relations for securing peaceful co-existence which is imperative in the circumstances of today for the survival of civilization. The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs were a menace not only to the world but to civilization itself. The resolution pleaded that the total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction was a paramount need if civilization was to be saved from a holocaust. The Congress appealed to all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments of the atomic and hydrogen bombs which, if continued, threatened the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effects.

In an important resolution on "Economic Policy", the Session emphasised the urgency of achieving economic swaraj for the masses of India. The resolution said : "The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and equitable distribution."

In view of the declared objective being a socialistic pattern of society, the State would necessarily play a vital part in planning and development.

While emphasising that public sector must have a progressively greater part, more particularly in the establishment of basic industries, the resolution pointed out that the private sector had also "a definite place in our

economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic control of the Plan."

It concluded: "India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitate rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic processes."

The resolution on Agrarian Reforms and Rural Credit, while appreciating the emphasis and attention the First Five-Year Plan had extended to the development of rural economy, welcomed the decision of the Government to accelerate the pace of land reforms and to implement the recommendations of the Planning Committee in this regard by means of a phased programme. It further said: "The Congress expects that the State will give special attention to this and take every possible step for its speedy completion."

The resolution headed "Unity and Integration" urged a cultural and psychological integration of India by ending casteism, communalism, provincialism, and other narrowing tendencies that come in the way of unity and integration.

By another resolution, the Congress endorsed the resolution on "Constructive and Developmental Work" passed by the AICC at Ajmer on July 24, 1954.

A resolution expressing profound sympathy for the millions of people who had suffered on account of severe floods in 1954 was also passed.

The Congress also recorded its deep sense of appreciation of the great work done by Acharya Vinobaji and appealed to all Congressmen to give their fullest co-operation to the movement. It held that the Bhoodan



and Sampattidan movement, apart from tackling certain economic problems, was essentially a moral movement for bringing about a socio-economic revolution voluntarily and through peaceful means.

The Congress welcomed the proposed changes in the Constitution of India.

The Congress passed a resolution on "Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation", and felt that a strong, powerful and dignified political organisation was an indispensable requisite of sound and efficient democracy, much more so in the context of India with the vastness, number and magnitude of her problems. The Congress, however, viewed with serious concern some of the trends and tendencies noticeable in the working of the Organisation which were bound to weaken it. The resolution urged Congressmen to weed out those tendencies so that the Congress continued to perform its historic mission to the people of India, and through them to humanity as a whole.

Another resolution passed by the Session stressed the necessity of women taking their rightful place in various activities of the nation. It was not only desirable but essential in the national interest that they should have full opportunities of growth and service and should also have rights of inheritance so that they might not suffer from any legal or social disability. Further, welfare of children was of paramount importance and should be given first place in the plans for national development.

In its final resolution, the Congress set a ten-year limit for the full implementation of Basic Education in both rural and urban areas.

## AICC MEETINGS

### I

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held on May 9, 1955 at Berhampore. Shri U. N. Dhebar presided.

In his opening address, the Congress President said that the task before the Congress was "to provide a basis to our political life, the basis of a just and equitable social order which would not only sustain the weight of the political fabric but also free the country from the cobwebs of an under-developed economy and inhibited social growth." He wanted "an army of selfless, reformed and disciplined workers, clear in their aims and objectives and wedded to the philosophy which has guided our movement for the last 40 years." The basic need continued to be "service and greater service", he said.

The Congress President then requested Acharya Vinoba Bhave to address the House. Speaking for nearly an hour, Shri Vinobaji urged members of the All India Congress Committee to devote sufficient time to the Bhoodan movement. He said that the movement, which is based on non-violence, had certain spiritual implications and work of the kind will not only re-create a sound pattern of human relationships in India but will also help in strengthening world peace. He felt confident that the land problem in India could be solved through Bhoodan. He was not against the solution of land problem through legislation; but if achieved through Bhoodan movement, its overall effect would be much more wholesome.

The Committee adopted eight resolutions.

The first was a condolence resolution expressing deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of the following :

Shri J.N. Shah, Auditor, AICC., Bombay ; Shri Devi Dutt Pant, M.P., Uttar Pradesh ; Shri N.V. Rama Rao, Minister, Andhra ; Shri E. John Phillipose, former Minister, Travancore-Cochin ; Shri Hira Singh Chinaria, M.P., PEPSU ; Dr. P.P. Anthony, M.L.A., Travancore-Cochin ; Shri Krishna Ayyappan, M.L.A., Travancore-Cochin ; Shri Ramdas Gulati, Bombay ; Shri Satin Sen, East Bengal , Shrimati Mohini Devi, West Bengal ; and Shri Chhotubhai Desai, Gujarat.

A resolution on "The Asian African Conference", welcomed the meeting of the Asian and African nations held at Bandung and recorded the Committee's appreciation of the unanimous decisions reached by the Conference in regard to economic and cultural co-operation and the affirmation of the principles that should govern the relations between the nations and peoples for the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

In the resolution headed "Appreciation", the Committee noted with satisfaction the widespread appreciation all over the country of the resolutions passed by the Avadi Session of the Congress on the Socialistic Pattern of Society and Economic policy. The AICC also appreciated the steps taken by the Government of India, in this regard, particularly the Fourth Amendment of the Constitution and the establishment of a State Bank of India as well as the various social reform legislations.

In a resolution on "Reorganisation of States", the AICC noted with regret the sad occurrences in Goalpara district of Assam and deprecated demonstrations of the kind which had taken place there. The Committee warned Congressmen that they should adopt a co-operative and objective approach, avoiding all bitterness and mutual recrimination.

as well as public controversy on the question of reorganisation of States.

The resolution relating to the Second Five-Year Plan declared that the most important aspects of the Plan should be the establishment of heavy and capital goods industries and a great development of small-scale, household and village industries. The AICC reminded that the successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan would require the fullest co-operation of the people. The Committee felt confident that in the high adventure of building up a new India and bringing prosperity to our vast population, spontaneous popular co-operation would be forthcoming in ample measure. In particular, Congressmen were called upon to assist in the great task of national reconstruction.

The AICC passed a resolution on the amendment of the Congress Constitution increasing the quota of nomination to the AICC by the Working Committee from five to ten per cent of the total strength of the AICC, five per cent being reserved for women, in order to give more representation to the special elements not adequately represented.

Similarly the quota of nomination by the general bodies of the Pradesh Congress Committees and DCCs to the PCCs and DCCs respectively was also increased from five to ten per cent of the total strength of the PCC or DCC concerned, five per cent being reserved for women.

The resolution on organisational affairs welcomed the appointment of the Standing Committee by the Working Committee in accordance with the resolution on Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation and approved the recommendations of that Committee. Laying emphasis on strengthening and purifying the Organisation, the AICC appealed to Congressmen in general and Congress Commit-

tees in particular to give their fullest co-operation in the important task.

The last resolution passed by the AICC dealt with Constructive Programme. The Committee expected that the Active members would take up constructive work in all earnestness and that the Pradesh and the subordinate Congress Committees would render all assistance to Zonal Organisers.

After the conclusion of formal deliberations, an informal meeting of the AICC members was held. The Congress President and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the members, stressing the need for maintaining the Congress Organisation in good shape.

## II

The All India Congress Committee met in an informal meeting on September 3, 1955 in the Constitution Club, New Delhi, under the presidentship of Shri U. N. Dhebar.

After the opening speech by the Congress President and the address by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, the AICC divided itself into three Sub-Committees to discuss the Plan-Frame and its Resources, Village Industries and Co-operation, and Organisational matters. These Sub-Committees were presided over by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri V. L. Mehta and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri respectively.

The Sub-Committees held discussions separately throughout the day and presented their reports to the AICC at its informal sitting the next day. Some members of the AICC expressed their views on the points raised in these reports. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri V. L. Mehta and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri clarified the position regarding their respective reports and recommended that these reports with such modifications as would be necessary in the light of discussions, might be

referred to the Working Committee for consideration and final decision. This was agreed to by the House.

A formal meeting of the AICC was also held on September 4, 1955 in the Constitution Club. Shri U. N. Dhebar presided.

There was voting for the election of five members by the AICC to the Central Election Committee. Two hundred and eighty-eight members took part in the voting. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar, Dr. B. C. Roy and Shri U. S. Malliah were declared elected.

The question of Goa was taken up. The Working Committee had recommended a draft resolution for consideration. After some discussion, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Congress President in his concluding remarks stated that the AICC was trying to do whatever was possible for the Goa sufferers. He requested the AICC members and specially the PCCs to look after the interests of the families of those who died in the Goa struggle. •

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## CONFERENCES OF THE PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEES

### I

**A** meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees was held at Avadi on January 22, 1955. Shri U. N. Dhebar presided. Practically all the Pradeshes were represented in the meeting.

In his opening speech, the Congress President referred to two broad objectives, namely, the resolution on "Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation" and the decision about the "Socialistic Pattern of Society" which they had to consider. He stated that the success that the Organisation had achieved in the past was due to the selfless efforts of the workers who had stood by it and fought relentlessly for its principles. Referring to the undesirable trends in the Congress reflected in the tendency noticeable in almost all parts of the country towards 'power politics', the Congress President emphasised that all possible measures must be adopted to set matters right and strengthen the Organisation. He was of opinion that purity and sacrifice were the two antidotes to power politics.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru then addressed the gathering. He said that if the Organisation was to work satisfactorily, there were a few things that were quite essential. Organisationally, one had to have a certain unity of conception and discipline in the Party. An Organisation like the Congress should not lose its distinctive character and appeal and must not become flabby and amorphous. If

the Organisation was to have individuality and distinctiveness, it had to think every day and keep in touch with modern thought. He laid great importance on the need for maintaining continuous contacts with the people and regretted that the Congress did not seem to persevere in this field.

With regard to the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, Shri Nehru stated that Congress was the only Organisation that could really help the minorities and bring them together and persuade them to join the noble adventure of nation-building. He called upon all Congressmen to realise the fact that they should work amongst the women, organise them and mobilise their opinion. He warned that women could no longer be expected to be docile supporters of the Congress.

Shri Nehru concluded with an appeal to Congressmen to keep in touch with the progress of various developmental programmes and explain them to the people.

A question was raised if the election to Congress Committees should be held by ballot or by raising of hands. Shri Nehru suggested that he would prefer election by raising of hands. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair said that option had been left to the Congress Committees to adopt the procedure of election either by ballot or by raising of hands, and it had been tried in different forms in different areas.

It was pointed out that the questions of vital importance which Shri Nehru had placed before the meeting demanded careful consideration. It was, therefore, felt that the Presidents and Secretaries should meet and discuss at length the plan and programme of work, the difficulties they faced and the results of their experiences.

The Congress President also suggested that it would, indeed, be preferable to have further discussions later on.



## II

Another meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees was held on March 14, 15 and 16, 1955 in New Delhi in the AICC Office. The Congress President was in the Chair.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the meeting. He said that a new revolutionary phase had started at the Avadi Session of the Congress where the resolution on a Socialistic Pattern of Society was adopted. Considerable responsibility had devolved on Congressmen, since the Governments at the Centre as well as in the States were administered by the Congress. Shri Nehru added that with the achievement of Independence the period of constructive endeavour had started, so that they had to mobilise the nation's resources and bring about all-round development in order to raise the standard of living of the people, millions of whom had long been denied the essential requisites of life. The Congress Organisation had a definite mission to serve and could not afford to disintegrate itself, he said. The country demanded its service and lead, and the Organisation has to raise the stature of the nation by the pursuit of the ideals it sought to achieve. It was a period of trial, said Shri Nehru, when the Congress Organisation could not afford to disown its responsibility nor get itself lost in the flush of victory.

He emphasised the fundamental principles which the Organisation must accept as its basis of work.

In conclusion, Shri Nehru urged Congressmen to avoid internal dissensions and guard against the rise of fissiparous tendencies.

The Congress President, then addressing the gathering, said that the Congress drew its strength from the organisations that worked in the different States and that the PCCs were the agents which could truly give prestige to the Congress by properly working out the programme of the

Congress accepted in its annual Session. He urged upon the PCCs to spread their activities wide amongst the kisans, labour, youth, women and the backward classes. The Congress President laid great emphasis on constructive work and appealed to Congress workers to apply themselves whole-heartedly to the noble task of nation-building. It was upto the Congress to enlist the support of all sections of the people and bring them together for the great task of reconstruction to which the nation stands pledged, Shri Dhebar concluded.

There was then discussion on certain important organisational matters, like, Congress membership, Congress organisation below the district level, collection of funds, training of workers, publicity, preparation of literature, discipline, co-relation of Party work and Administration and the method of selection of candidates.

### **Congress Membership :**

As regards Congress membership, it was pointed out that emphasis should be laid on the quality, and that such an aggregation, though strictly limited in numbers, would give real strength to the Organisation. It was suggested by some of the members that in order to encourage enrolment of Active members, the condition of the payment of Rs. 10/- should be dropped, but the proposal did not find favour with all. Again, the suggestion for free enrolment of membership was not found acceptable. The idea of compelling primary members to be habitual wearers of Khadi was considered impracticable by most of the members, as it would restrict the number of enrolment and would ultimately become ineffective. Introduction of two new cadres of Congress membership, namely, "sympathisers" and "permanent members" was also suggested.

### **Congress Organisation below the District level :**

The question of Congress organisation below the district level came up for discussion. It was suggested that

the Organisation should spread out to the villages and a primary Congress Committee should be set up in each village. Tehsil Congress Committees should be formed between the District and primary Committees. Revival of the mandal Congress Committees which had previously functioned covering a population of 25,000 or so was also suggested. It was considered that these Committees, because of their smaller size, would be in a position to have intimate contact with the people.

### **Collection of funds :**

With regard to the collection of funds, it was felt that the present practice of raising funds tended to bring the Organisation under the control of influential people who commanded large resources of money. The apparent benevolence was often misused and the workers had to depend more or less on the support and sympathy of these influential people, both in the Government and outside. It was suggested, therefore, that some other means should be adopted to raise money. Holding of cultural shows under the auspices of Congress Committees was proposed as one of the ways to raise funds. The Congress President said that if Congressmen were really earnest about raising money, it would not be difficult to have adequate finance.

### **Training of workers, publicity and preparation of Literature :**

It was pointed out that office-bearers of the Congress Committees worked at a disadvantage since they had no adequate background and training to effectively meet the arguments of the rival parties. Emphasis was laid on training of Congress workers, preparation of literature and appointment of a number of paid organisers. It was felt essential that Congressmen should have proper materials with them to educate the public mind and to interpret the Congress view-point. The Congress President was of opinion that the Congress case should be boldly placed before the public.

### **Discipline :**

The question of maintaining discipline in the Congress came up for lengthy discussion. It was felt that there was apparent looseness in the Organisation. A form of sectarian psychology, born of a desire to grab power, had developed together with certain other unfortunate trends.

The Congress President who made certain observations on the question of discipline, said that there were two ways of dealing with the matter—use of the 'rod', and alternatively, other effective methods to persuade Congress workers to follow the prescribed code of behaviour. He thought that people at different levels and stages of political growth should be dealt with differently, avoiding too much of a punitive approach to the question. He was, however firmly of opinion that "we should stand against all kinds of destructive forces and canalise our constructive efforts in the fulfilment of the task that lies ahead of us."

### **Party Organisation and Administration :**

It was pointed out that since the PCCs directly dealt with the public, any suggestion made by the PCC should be given weight by the Ministry in power. It was suggested that Pradesh Congress Committees and the Government should have intimate relationship.

With regard to administrative responsibilities, the Congress President was definitely of the view that it was not proper to attempt dividing them into different spheres and hold someone else responsible for the administrative lapses. The concept of responsibility was but an integrated whole and no division could be allowed. The Administration was responsible to the Cabinet, and the latter to the public.

### **Method of selection of Candidates :**

It was felt that the final selection should be made sufficiently early so that the candidates chosen could make

necessary preparation without waiting for the last moment to commence their election campaign. It was suggested that recommendations should come from down below, starting from the lowest Congress Committees.

The Congress President expressed the view that the method of selection should be determined by local experience without any rigid uniformity. He said : "The main idea should be to select people with social outlook and experience in social service. Though not widely known, a candidate could be chosen because of his devoutness and faithful work."

### **Constructive Work :**

Shri Shriman Narayan placed before the Conference an outline of the programme of Constructive Work that had been chalked out. He pointed out that the programme did not mean merely a few items of constructive work. Unless the right spirit was there, the work would lose all its worth. Constructive work, he said, must not be used for vote-catching purposes. The Congress workers should have a clear picture in their minds and devote themselves to the work in right earnest. Shri Shriman Narayan suggested that the Congress workers should associate themselves with the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Congress Seva Dal and other constructive agencies working under the direction of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Besides, there were Government-sponsored National Development Schemes such as the Community Projects and National Extension Service, in which also the Congress could take active interest.

There was then discussion on the programme placed before the Conference. It was suggested that there must be a test to assess to what extent Congress workers took to constructive work. Bhoodan, being a prominent part of the constructive work, it was expected that Congressmen should give it the highest priority. It was also pointed out that the Congress Committees were mainly occupied

with elections and it was desirable that the elections should be minimised to enable Congressmen to spare sufficient time for constructive work.

The Congress President, who addressed the Conference, expressed the hope that the nation would march towards progress with renewed vigour, energy and determination, with full scope for self-expression in the successful implementation of the constructive programme. Laying stress on dignity of service, he said : "We must think in terms of self-abnegation when we attempt to appreciate the importance of constructive work."

The Conference considered the recommendations of the Constitution Sub-Committee appointed earlier to examine amendments to the Congress Constitution. These related to Congress membership, collection of funds for Congress work, help to political sufferers, election petitions, Election Tribunals and Scrutiny Committees. It was decided to submit the recommendations to the Working Committee for consideration and decision. There was some discussion on the creation of a Central cadre for office secretaries and it was decided that the matter should be left to the Pradesh Congress Committees. In case of irregularities, the AICC may depute somebody to work in the PCC for some time and set things right. It was emphasised that every PCC must have a whole-time office secretary.

The question of Youth Organisation, Women Section and Seva Dal also figured in the discussion.

### **Youth Organisation :**

The Congress Committees were advised to take initiative and organise youth camps for which money was available from Government funds through non-official agencies such as the Bharat Sevak Samaj and other institutions.

### **Women Section :**

It was realised that there was considerable political awakening and consciousness among the women, and it was essential to organise them.

It was suggested that each Congress Committee should make a provision for inclusion of women in the Committees.

Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh addressed the Conference on the subject. She said that the message of the Congress had to be carried to the remotest corners of the country and women would prove effective instruments in the work.

### **Seva Dal :**

That Seva Dal should have more contact with youths and spread its work in rural areas was generally recognised. It was an agency for effective social service, and it was, therefore, essential to reorganise service units through the Seva Dal.

There was the suggestion that a percentage of the annual Budget of the PCCs should be earmarked for Seva Dal and a change in the office-bearers of the PCC should not bring about any change in Seva Dal work. Ensuring financial and organisational stability to Seva Dal was considered necessary.

The Congress President observed that a target should be fixed in each State after full consideration of the local factors and that proper form of discipline must be maintained. Dwelling on the importance of Seva Dal, he said that an organisation which wanted to bring about a revolutionary change, must have a band of disciplined workers determined to carry out its work and take its message to the remotest corners of the country.

Besides Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and the Congress President, the following addressed the Conference on the subjects noted against their names :

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (1) Shri T.T. Krishnamachari   | : Economic Policy  |
| (2) Shri Jagjiwan Ram          | : Social Welfare   |
| (3) Shri V. L. Mehta           | : Constructive Work  |
| (4) Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh | : Social Welfare Schemes   |
| (5) Shri C. D. Deshmukh        | : Role of Financial Policy in the Development of a Socialistic Pattern |
| and (6) Shri Gulzarilal Nanda  | : Socialistic Pattern of Society                                       |

### III

A Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees was again held on September 1, 1955 in the AICC office. Shri U.N. Dhebar presided.

Inaugurating the Conference, the Congress President said that during the course of his tours in the different States, he had found that there was a definite belief among the people that the Congress was the really strong and well-disciplined Organisation which looked after the people's welfare. It had acquired the confidence of the people by its long record of service, but it had yet to be further strengthened by a programme of effective service.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, then addressing the Conference, dealt with national and international problems. Turning to the Congress, he referred to the complacency in some quarters that the Organisation had gathered sufficient strength and no one could dislodge it from its eminent position. He warned: "The moment we become less vigilant and fail to keep pace with progressive forces, we become static and cease to grow. As a result, we go



backwards and approach the state of collapse. We must fully appreciate this position and try to take the lead in all public affairs without giving way to others. Otherwise we shall take to easier forms of life and fritter away the strength we collected by working unitedly and with determination to achieve our desired goal."

Shri Nehru said that the tendency for group politics among Congressmen was really very reprehensible and worked against the basic principles of the Organisation. Political groupings were dangerous, but still more dangerous were the caste groupings. He was clear in his mind that if Congressmen were really earnest about the development of the country, they should oppose groupings, caste or political, with all their might.

In conclusion, Shri Nehru said: "The Congress Organisation and the Government have a great responsibility to discharge. This can be effectively done only if we set our house in order and work unitedly in a disciplined manner for the achievement of our objectives."

The following items then came up for discussion :

- (1) Steps taken to bring about greater efficiency in the Organisation ;
- (2) Implementation of the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation ;
- (3) Progress of Youth, Seva Dal, Women, Constructive Work, especially Bhoodan ;
- (4) Basic data about constituencies ; and
- (5) Floods and famine.

The Presidents and Secretaries of all the PCCs gave a short account of the steps that had been taken in their Pradeshes to bring about greater efficiency in the Organisation and to add to its strength. The measures

related to the toning up of the offices of the Congress Committees, enforcement of the Constitutional provisions, especially in regard to enrolment and renewal of membership, inspection of subordinate Congress Committee offices, proper functioning of Election Tribunals and Scrutiny Committees, supply of enrolment and renewal forms, training classes and camps for workers, study classes and spread of Congress literature, appointment of paid office secretaries and their training, etc.

The Congress President observed that unless the DCCs worked effectively, it would be difficult to organise elections next year. It had been found that some DCCs had no proper accommodation for offices, and it was very essential that it should be arranged for their regular functioning.

After discussion on the last item, the Conference unanimously passed a resolution expressing its satisfaction at the progress made so far in toning up the offices of the Congress Committees, etc.

There was then discussion on the question as to how the PCCs had tried to implement the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation about elimination of communalism and casteism. The Congress President expressed the view that casteism, being deep-rooted, Congressmen had to work earnestly if something positive was to be achieved by way of removing the evil.

Speaking on the subject, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised that these barriers had to go. He desired that the recommendations made by the Standing Committee should be fully interpreted to the people and steps taken to see that Congressmen adjusted themselves to the working of the social forces and helped the growth of the country by throwing off the shackles of caste or sect bondage.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Kashmir, also addressed the Conference. He urged Congressmen to continue their ceaseless struggle against all forms of communalism and casteism, giving no quarter for such elements directly or indirectly.

The Conference then discussed the recommendation of the Standing Committee to the effect that as far as possible a person should not hold the same office for more than one term. Some members agreed to the recommendation, while others opposed it. The Congress President suggested that he would take the sense of the House and give indication to the Working Committee.

There was then discussion on the fourth item—Basic data about constituencies. Some of the PCC Presidents and Secretaries mentioned local difficulties in collecting the basic data. The PCCs were advised to be more active in collecting the required materials and communicating them to the AICC.

Item No. 3—Progress of Youth, Seva Dal, Women and Constructive Work, especially Bhoodan—was then taken up for discussion.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi addressed the Conference and gave a short account of the progress of organisation work amongst the women. She said it had been their decided policy that Organisers among women should work as Congress women and that the initiative should lie with the Congress. That, in her view, would help organisation work and, at the same time, strengthen the Congress. She made an appeal to the PCCs to give their full co-operation to help organisation work among women.

The Congress President suggested that it would be convenient to set apart a separate budget for the Women Section.

Shri Hiralal Bose, Youth Organiser, AICC, gave a short account of the activities of Youth Departments in the different Pradeshes.

The President of the UPCC said it was a happy sign that with the adoption of the resolution on a Socialistic Pattern of Society, the attitude of the students had considerably changed and they were feeling more interested in Congress ideology and programme. He desired that the youth and student departments should work under the direct supervision of the PCC.

The Congress President remarked that it had been decided that the programme of work should be drawn up under the guidance of the PCC and it would then be left to the Youth Department to implement it.

Shri S. V. Inamdar, All India Organiser, Congress Seva Dal, who addressed the meeting, appealed to the PCCs to make earnest efforts to activise Seva Dal work.

Shri Shriman Narayan addressed the Conference on Bhoodan. He recalled that in the Berhampur Session of the AICC, the Congress President had told the members that Shri Vinobaji's movement was not an isolated campaign, but formed an essential part of the Congress programme. He said : "The Congress has great responsibility in the matter and it was expected that some positive steps should be taken by the PCCs to set up special Committees to rally Congress workers for Bhoodan work".

Discussion then followed on the last item, namely, floods and famine. Shri Bishwanath Das, President, Utkal PCC, gave an account of the floods and famine situation in Orissa and the steps taken by the Orissa Government to meet the situation. Shri Das urged that in the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan, some positive measures should be taken to deal with the occasional incidence of draughts, floods and famine.

The President of the UPCC also gave an account of the situation prevailing over a considerable portion of U. P. because of the floods and the measures taken.

The Congress President said that the PCCs had been asked to look after relief work and collect money and other materials. He appealed to all Congress workers to take up promptly the task of collection of funds and help relief work with all their resources.

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A meeting of the Presidents of the PCCs to discuss the S.R.C. Report was held on November 7, 1955 in the AICC Office.

## **CONFERENCE OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE PCCs AND THE LEADERS OF CONGRESS LEGISLATURE PARTIES**

**A** Conference of the Presidents of the PCCs and the Leaders of Congress Legislature Parties in the States was held on September 2, 1955 in the AICC Office. Shri U. N. Dhebar was in the Chair. The main item on the agenda was the issue of co-ordination between the Organisation and the Administration.

The Congress President addressed the Conference. Emphasising the need for maintaining proper co-ordination between the two wings of the Congress—organisational and parliamentary—he said that united action of the two sections strengthened the Organisation and created opportunities for service to the millions of people who had reposed confidence in it. He urged upon Congressmen to take a united stand and give a lead to the people who looked up to the Organisation for guidance and inspiration.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru next addressed the Conference. Speaking about the two wings of the Organisation, he said : "The Congress side of it should always be moving and should have a grip over the problems and should be active. Other parties in the country shoulder no responsibility. They just criticise and agitate about anything. Our responsibility is greater. That is why it becomes all the more necessary to keep in touch with the people. It is equally important that those in the Administration should have their ears to the ground."

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant said that the question of establishing a machinery for co-ordinating the activities of the Government and the Congress Committees had

been raised from 1937 onwards. Considerable experience had been gathered in the meantime and some standards had been accepted in the form of conventions. Shri Pant was of opinion that the Organisation was bigger than the Government itself, and naturally, it was to the Organisation that the Government would look up for guidance and strength. He emphasised that both must go together. He felt that it was only the tactful handling and proper appreciation of human nature that would facilitate co-ordinated work and harmony.

The recommendations of the Committee, which had been appointed by the Working Committee to suggest conventions for establishing co-ordination between the Congress Ministries in the States and the PCCs, were placed before the Conference. They were unanimously endorsed.

(The report of the Committee consisting of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Morarji Desai, Dr. B. C. Roy and Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar is given under the Central Parliamentary Board).

## **PURITY AND STRENGTHENING OF THE ORGANISATION**

**W**HILE considering the resolution on "Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation" passed at Avadi, it was proposed that the Working Committee may set up a Standing Committee for making recommendations for implementing the resolution.

The question of appointment of the Standing Committee was considered by the Working Committee in March, 1955. The Congress President pointed out that there were three aspects of the Avadi resolution, i. e., canalising the new enthusiasm and atmosphere, composition of the Committee and its terms of reference. The Working Committee considered the draft resolution on the subject. It was adopted as follows :

During the course of discussion on the resolution on Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation, passed at the Avadi Session of the Congress, it was suggested that the Working Committee may appoint a Standing Committee for making recommendations for the implementation of the resolution.

The Congress is an association of voluntary workers. It neither offers a share in the spoils of office nor benefits resulting from governance of the country by a single party. The only attraction it can offer to an honest worker, who joins the Congress, is a share in shaping the destiny of this country by serving the people with dignity and self-respect. The Congress can draw just satisfaction from the fact that it has been successful in generating a spirit of selfless service in this country. The Avadi resolution on the Socialistic Pattern of Society has created a new urge and



a new wave of enthusiasm among Congress workers and the people. It is now necessary to divert the entire energy of the Organisation into positive and constructive channels. With a view to encouraging this and securing the object of the resolution referred to above, the Working Committee appoints a Committee consisting of the following members :

- |                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Shri U. N. Dhebar          | —Chairman     |
| 2. „ Jawaharlal Nehru         |               |
| 3. „ Govind Ballabh Pant      |               |
| 4. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad    |               |
| 5. Shri Morarji Desai         |               |
| 6. „ Lal Bahadur Shastri      |               |
| 7. „ Gulzarilal Nanda         |               |
| 8. „ S. K. Patil              |               |
| and 9. Shrimati S. Ambujammal | (added later) |

The terms of reference of the Committee, *inter alia*, will be :

(a) to prepare necessary literature on the social and economic objectives of the Congress Organisation ;

(b) to prepare a scheme for imparting training to Congress workers ;

(c) to suggest ways and means for the eradication of the spirit of casteism and communalism noticeable occasionally in the Organisation ;

(d) to suggest ways and means by which women and unrepresented sections of society can be assured adequate representation in the Organisation ;

(e) to suggest methods for raising the standards of efficiency in the Congress Committees ;

(f) to suggest ways and means for more effective scrutiny of the Active members in accordance with the rules under the Constitution ; and

(g) to suggest ways and means for a more homogeneous and harmonious working of the Organisation and the avoidance of the formation of groups within it.'

Suggestions were received from various quarters and the matter was discussed in the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the PCCs held in March, 1955. The Standing Committee went into all the suggestions and after a thorough consideration submitted the following report to the Working Committee :

'The Standing Committee appointed by the Working Committee in accordance with the resolution on "Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation" met on April 5, 1955. All the nine members of the Committee were present. Besides the members, the two General Secretaries attended the meeting.

The Committee considered the report of the Presidents and Secretaries' Conference as also the Note of the Congress President regarding 'Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation'. It was agreed that a positive approach to this question was the best approach. The Standing Committee also noted that meetings and conferences of the workers were being held all over India to explain the Avadi resolution and the question of discipline is being approached from the angle of the Congressmen's role in the building up of a society conceived therein. The Committee was of opinion that it was necessary to lay down a certain broad outline for the guidance of the constituent bodies and the members of the Organisation. The Committee felt that instead of doing so separately, it would be better to include it in the literature on the social and economic objectives. The theoretical background would go a long way to convince the Committees and the members of the Organisation that a wrong or an incorrect piece of conduct or behaviour or action ultimately affected prejudicially the goal aimed at. In the preparation of literature, therefore, emphasis has to be put on those

aspects of public life which militate against or are inconsistent with the social and economic objectives in view. The Committee felt that the Congress should set certain standards before Congressmen and women in general and Active members in particular, which they were expected not only to fulfil so far as they themselves were concerned but also to further and advance in general as fundamental to the working of the Organisation. Violating these standards would automatically bring them into conflict with the social and economic objectives and, therefore, with the rules of discipline.

A consciousness should grow everywhere that it is the duty of every Congressman, in whatever walk of life he is, to give a lead to the rest of the people in achieving a constructive revolution in every field of social, economic and moral life, and that the sense of equality and earnestness he brings to bear upon his work will determine the quality of the revolution and the speed with which it is achieved.

With the above aim in view, the Committee decided to make the following recommendations to the Working Committee :

#### *I. Membership :*

(a) The constitutional provisions and the existing rules regarding enrolment of primary and Active members, preparation of electoral rolls, etc. should be rigorously enforced. The primary membership fee of annas four should be paid by the person out of his own earnings, and in no case, should it be paid by anybody else except by his family members.

(b) The provisions regarding the submission of periodical reports by Active members and their scrutiny by the Scrutiny Committee should be strictly enforced.

Zonal Inspectors from the AICC should go round the various Pradeshes regularly to find out how far the rules and instructions of the Working Committee are being

complied with, and particularly to make occasional sample scrutiny of primary and Active members.

## II. *Elections* :

(a) Attention of the Pradesh Congress Committees should be drawn to the desirability of holding the delegate elections and elections to various other Committees by show of hands in meetings to be called on the same date and at the same time in the various polling booths.

(b) As far as possible a person should not hold the same office in the Organisation for more than one term.

(c) The practice of a person holding a number of positions in the Government or Party should be discouraged. In any particular case reasonable limit can be determined by the Leader of the Party and the PCC President.

## III. *Preparation of Literature* :

A Committee for the preparation of necessary literature on the social and economic objectives of the Congress should be appointed, consisting of :

1. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
2. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair
3. Shri Shriman Narayan—Convener.

with two other members to be nominated by the President.

The Committee should have the power to co-opt additional members.

The Committee should get the approval of the Standing Committee before publishing the literature.

## IV. *Training of Workers* :

The scheme for imparting training to Congress workers should be followed by the PCCs.

## V. *Elimination of Casteism* :

(a) (i) An Active member of the Congress should not be a member of any caste or communal organisation ;

(u) He should not associate himself with any activity carried on by or in the name of a caste, unless the activity be of a religious character or connected with the uplift of scheduled castes or tribes or is expressly for removal of anti-social customs ;

(m) He should not participate in caste dinners, caste parties, customary caste meetings or conferences ; and

(v) He should not associate himself with any caste institution connected with educational or other beneficial activities like schools, colleges, hostels, etc. unless that institution is open to all sections of the society without any distinctions of caste or community.

(b) Inter-caste and inter-communal marriages should be encouraged.

(c) The Central and State Governments should be requested to stop State grants or assistance to caste and communal institutions.

(d) The Working Committee should be given the power to suspend any Committee or member of the Legislature who is encouraging in one form or other casteism in the Congress Committees or in the Legislature or in the Cabinet.

#### *VI. Representation of Special Elements :*

The percentage of nominations to the various Congress Committees should be raised from 5 to 10 per cent. Out of this 10 per cent, at least 5 per cent should be reserved for women.

The nominations to the PCCs and DCCs should be made by the general bodies and not by the Executive Committees as provided in the Constitution.

#### *VII. Avoidance of Formation of Groups :*

The Working Committee should take steps\* to ensure a more homogeneous and harmonious working of the Organisation and the avoidance of formation of groups

within it. The Working Committee, on being satisfied that groups exist in any PCC or DCC, should direct the leaders of both the groups and such other active members thereof, if any, to show cause why they should not be suspended from participating in the affairs of the Organisation. The Working Committee should, after considering such explanation, decide in every case what action should be taken to eliminate the groups and the decision so taken should be final. The Working Committee should have the power to order the dismissal of persons when it is satisfied that the groups are formed for furthering the interest of a particular caste or community or for capturing power in the Administration.'

The above report was considered by the Working Committee in May, 1955. The Working Committee ratified it and decided to place it before the AICC meeting at Berhampur.

While giving its general approval to the recommendations of the Standing Committee, the AICC stressed the need for prompt and effective action to eradicate groups, casteism and communalism. The AICC expressed the hope that Congressmen in general, and Congress Committees in particular, would give their fullest co-operation in the important task of purifying and strengthening the Organisation.

## CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

**W**ITH a view to implementing the resolution on Constructive and Developmental Work passed by the AICC at Ajmer and ratified by the Avadi Congress, the Working Committee at its meeting on March 6, 1955 adopted the following scheme of Constructive Work :

1. One of the General Secretaries will be in charge of Constructive Work ;

2. The country should be divided into six Zones for the purpose of organising Constructive Work ;

3. Each Zone should have a Zonal Organiser ;

4. The Congress President may appoint an Advisory Committee to assist him in this work ;

5. The Zonal Organiser will co-operate with and assist the Pradesh Congress Committees and, through them, the District Congress Committees to organise Constructive Work within their areas ; and

6. The general pattern of such organisation may vary from place to place, but it will be such as to ensure the following purposes :

(i) Co-operation with the constructive activities now being carried on under the agencies of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Khadi and Village Industries Board, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bhoodan Samitis and such other committees doing constructive work ; and

(ii) Increased participation in or association with the activities of the Community Project Blocks and National Extension Service Centres.

Accordingly, the Congress President appointed six Zonal Organisers.

The following Advisory Committee was also set up :

- |                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Shri U. N. Dhebar     | —Chairman |
| 2. „ Govind Ballabh Pant |           |
| 3. „ Gulzarilal Nanda    |           |
| 4. „ Lal Bahadur Shastri |           |
| 5. „ V. L. Mehta         |           |
| 6. „ Kakasaheb Kalelkar  |           |
| 7. „ Shriman Narayan     | —Convener |

Some of the Zonal Organisers and members of the Advisory Committee met Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on April 13 and discussed the future programme of Constructive Work by Congressmen.

To begin with, the following programme was suggested to the Zonal Organisers and the PCCs :

1. A survey should be made of institutions doing constructive work in the country. Detailed information about the nature of their work should be secured. A similar survey should be made of the persons doing such work and results recorded. The survey should be made by the Pradesh Congress Committees through the District and Tehsil Committees. The Zonal Organisers should undertake tours in their Zones with the help of the PCCs for making similar surveys. The Constructive Work institutions should be requested to supply information on the work they are doing. Such a comprehensive survey is necessary for getting a true picture of the work that is being undertaken at present. The AICC Office should maintain full and latest information in the form of charts, maps, etc.

2. The Zonal Organisers, after making a study of constructive work in the Zones should assist institutions and workers in remedying the defects noticed and strengthening



the programme of work. This should be done after taking into consideration the local circumstances and aptitude of workers.

3. Where there are individual Congressmen doing useful work, they should be assisted to form a Constructive Workers' Committee more or less on the Saurashtra pattern.

4. Each Zonal Organiser should help the PCCs in setting up Constructive Work Departments with one whole-time worker in charge.

In order to be in constant touch with the Zonal Organisers and the PCCs the AICC has started a Constructive Work Department. Prof. N. R. Malkani, M. P., is in charge of the Department and works under the guidance of the Congress President and the General Secretary in charge of Constructive Work.

A meeting of the Constructive Workers was held on the Sarvodaya Exhibition grounds in Madras on January 19, 1955, the Congress President presiding. Many prominent constructive workers were present. The Congress President and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the meeting.

Speaking on the importance of constructive work, the Congress President said: "Constructive Work is the soul of our movement. It not only purifies the constructive workers but also purifies our society. We have to take up constructive work because it purifies all of us."

He added: "Our Constructive Work programme is the biggest project ever conceived by humanity. Can any one cite a single instance where any social order based on the concept of Sarvodaya has been attempted? Everyone can see what great effort is necessary to achieve the noble objective we have in view. Let us achieve this through unity and let us work together in the constructive sphere, whether in the Administration or in the political Organisation."

Emphasising the vital need of doing constructive work, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said : "It was work that counted and the people should devote themselves earnestly to the carrying out of the constructive programme. Gandhiji gave us a long list which was, however, not exhaustive. It was drawn up when the struggle for Independence was going on. Now that India was free, more responsibilities devolved on the workers and the base had to be built up strongly through the implementation of the constructive programme."

A joint meeting of the members of the Constructive Programme Advisory Committee and the Zonal Organisers was held on June 17 and 18, 1955 in the AICC Office. Shri U. N. Dhebar was in the Chair.

The Zonal Organisers gave reports of their work.

The Congress President suggested that each PCC should set up a small committee for organising constructive work and giving guidance to workers interested in the programme.

Shri Shriman Narayan pointed out that the idea of establishing a Socialistic Pattern of Society as envisaged in the Avadi resolution was vitally linked with the successful working of the constructive programme. It was essential that the ideological base was made distinctly clear and the programme of constructive work was taken up with a clear vision.

There was general discussion about the nature of work that ought to be carried out by the Constructive Work Committee in each PCC and the method of giving training to Active members in the different Zones. It was suggested that a committee consisting of two or three persons including Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar should be set up to formulate a scheme of training for constructive work. Shri Vichitra Narayan Sharma and Shrimati Kuttimalu

Amma were nominated by the Congress President to be members of the committee.

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar was also requested to prepare a scheme for starting a Basic Education Centre in Delhi which could later on be developed into a training centre for Constructive Work.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Zonal Organisers was held on September 5, 1955 in the AICC Office. Shri U.N. Dhebar presided.

The members discussed the question of organising constructive work on a systematic basis so as to engage the Active members as intensely as possible and it was decided that teams should be formed to undertake some positive work in the constructive field. The number of members to form a team could vary. The work might be undertaken in two forms :

- (i) Item-wise—particular items of work should be undertaken by the team ;
- (ii) Area-wise—the team might undertake constructive work in a selected area intensively so as to cover all forms of constructive work, instead of restricting its activities to one kind of work.

The team should include whole-time or part-time workers but the leader of the team would be expected to give a considerable portion of his time to its activities. The question of giving training to constructive workers and finding financial resources also came up for discussion. As mentioned earlier, a small committee of three had taken up the task of preparing a regular course for the training of workers. With regard to recurring and non-recurring expenses, the Congress President said that the AICC should have to bear a considerable portion of the expenses of the training, the PCCs paying the rest.

In the matter of co-ordination of constructive work, the Congress President suggested that Zonal Organisers

should work as the co-ordinating agents between the Constructive Work Departments and the sections dealing with Women, Youth and Seva Dal. Similarly attempts should be made to co-ordinate the activities with other non-government and government organisations through proper contacts and discussions.

It was resolved that from October 2, 1955 teams of constructive workers in different Pradeshes should start working on constructive lines and the progress of work should continue in different phases so as to bring all Active members in the field by January 30, 1956.

The Zonal Organisers again met on December 2 and 3, 1955 in the AICC Office. The Organisers gave a review of the progress of work in the different Zones.

It was decided that a Conference of selected Congress constructive workers as well as those belonging to various non-official bodies should be called at Amritsar on the eve of the Congress Session. The Conference should discuss various aspects of constructive work and devise ways for organising and co-ordinating the programme in all States. Now that crores of rupees are being spent in Community Projects and Khadi work, it is upto Congressmen to see that the funds are well spent. They should take an active part in these activities. Further, the Congress President desired that the AICC Office should establish a work Centre for training workers. To begin with, a Centre may be started on the grounds of the Harijan Colony, Kingsway, Delhi, but serious efforts should be made to acquire a suitable site near Rajghat for starting such a Centre for demonstration and training.

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## SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

**D**ISCUSSION on the general approach to the Second Five-Year Plan got into stride during the past few months with the publication of the draft Plan-Frame. The Berhampur Session of the AICC adopted a resolution indicating the broad lines on which the Second Plan should be formulated. The AICC desired that "Our economic policy should now be considered in concrete terms in order to draw up an adequate, balanced and planned programme of development." It was made clear that one of the most important aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan should be "a great development of small-scale and village industries which are to play a role of crucial importance both in relation to providing fuller employment and for the purpose of ensuring an adequate supply of consumer goods."

The resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan adopted at the Berhampore Session also emphasised the increasing role of the District and Pradesh Congress Committees in the formulation of the objectives and targets of the Plan. Accordingly, in his circular letter, dated May 16, 1955, addressed to the Presidents of all Pradesh Congress Committees, Shri Shriman Narayan wrote : "It is necessary that our Congress Committees should play an important role in the formulation of the objectives and targets of the Second Five-Year Plan. We have already distributed some copies of the papers circulated by the Planning Commission in regard to the outline of the Second Five-Year Plan. More papers will be sent to you as soon as they are available. I suggest that you may discuss these preliminary proposals and papers at a special meeting of the Executive of your Pradesh Congress Committee. You

may also ask for the views of the Executives of the District and other subordinate Committees. You may contact other non-official and constructive work organisations in this connection for eliciting their views about the next Five-Year Plan, so that it may be possible for us to formulate proposals for the next Plan on the basis of the widest consultation and co-operation of the people",

Two Special Committees were appointed by the AICC during its informal meeting in the first week of September, 1955, to examine the 'Plan-Frame and its Resources' and the place of Village Industries and Co-operation respectively in the context of the Second Five-Year Plan. The more important features of the Report of the Committee on "Plan-Frame and its Resources" were :

- (i) The size of the Plan should be such as to ensure employment opportunities to the extent of 11 to 12 million jobs, and if Rs. 4,300/- crores were not sufficient for this purpose, it should be increased ;
- (ii) The income content of the Plan should be of an order which will lead to a considerable rise in the standard of living of the people ;
- (iii) Suitable atmosphere and conditions should be created for obtaining resources from the people and methods for obtaining such resources must be based on principles of equality of sacrifice ;
- (iv) Public opinion should be prepared for shouldering larger tax burdens to match the requirements of the Plan and the burdens should fall primarily on those whose capacity to pay was greater and those whose income would increase as a result of the programmes of development ;
- (v) Deficit financing would mean the creation of credit in anticipation of production and there should be a careful and continuous watch on the effects of such credit creation ;

- (vi) It should be possible to augment resources of the public sector by a steady expansion of the State's direct operations in the field of banking, insurance, finance and trade, and in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan, positive steps should be taken in the direction of State trading in selected commodities in foreign and internal trade ; and
- (vii) In allocating resources, it should be the aim to secure a balanced scheme of development and the pattern of investment should be so adjusted as to guarantee the provision of employment visualized in the Plan.

The Committee on Village Industries and Co-operation welcomed the recognition accorded to the development of village industries in the draft Plan-Frame, but stressed that such development should be viewed as an essential feature of our national economy. The Committee emphasised that because of their low foreign-exchange content and high employment potential, village industries had a great role to play, particularly in the context of our unbalanced rural economy. The Committee said : "The acceptance of a programme for village industries as an integral part of the next Plan imposes serious responsibility on the Congress Organisation which, during the last 35 years, has expressed an ideological preference for the decentralized form of production. In the first place every effort should be made to organise production in the various industries for which common production programmes are drawn up so as to adhere to the scheduled supply of consumer goods in common demand."

In its Report the Committee outlined the policy to be followed in respect of cloth industry, hand-pounding of rice, edible oils, tanning and foot-wear, and expressed the hope that the allocation of resources for the village industries sector would not be limited to Rs. 200 crores.

In the opinion of the Committee, "the Co-operative form of organisation is the one most suited to the economic requirements of the country, where the bulk of our production represents the effort of self-employed agriculturists and artisans who command poor financial resources and are not able to hold their own in an economy dominated by persons with such resources at their disposal." The Committee, therefore, urged Congress organisations at all levels and Congress workers, whether in urban or rural areas, to interest themselves in the promotion of co-operative activities, particularly those that subserved the purposes of the Second Five-Year Plan. The Committee drew special attention to industrial co-operatives, rural multi-purpose co-operatives, construction co-operatives, co-operative farming and marketing societies.

The Planning Committee of the AICC was re-constituted during the year, with the following members :

1. Shri U. N. Dhebar
2. „ Govind Ballabh Pant
3. „ Gulzarilal Nanda
4. „ Nabakrushna Choudhury
5. „ Khandubhai Desai
6. Shrimati Indira Gandhi
7. Shri T. R. Deogirikar
8. Dr. Syed Mahmud
9. Shri Shriman Narayan (Convener)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has also been regularly attending the meetings of the Committee.

The Planning Committee discussed the Reports of the Karve Committee (Committee on the place of Village and Small-scale Industries in the Second Plan) and the Rice-milling Enquiry Committee immediately after they were published and reached important conclusions with regard to the formulation of a final policy. The Note prepared by the Planning Commission on the Second Five-Year Plan was placed before the meeting of



the Congress Working Committee on December 23, 1955. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda gave their comments. Shri Nehru remarked: "The Planning Commission has prepared the Plan-Frame with certain objectives and the amount that has to be spent on the Plan has been fixed in full consideration of the resources which could probably be mobilised for its implementation. The Plan leaves room for elasticity. It is based on certain basic considerations. The policy question has to be kept in view and attempts have been made to draw up the programme in a way so as to lead the country towards a Socialistic Pattern of Society. The question of the development of heavy industries as well as cottage industries was the guiding factor and proper adjustments have to be made to give due importance to both these factors in the national economy of the country, bearing in mind at the same time the question of employment to the largest number of people."

Shri C. D. Deshmukh then gave an analysis of the basis on which the Plan has to be drawn up and the factors that go to make the Plan a success. He specially mentioned that the planners have to take account of the question of determining the percentage of savings and the national income and the amount of austerity the people have to be prepared to undergo in making adequate amount available for investment purposes from the increase in the national income. It was essential that the scheme should involve controls on a scientific basis and the correct appraisal of the issues involved can result in voluntary co-operation to a large extent.

It was pointed out by Shri Deshmukh and other members that the Party Organisation should give a proper lead in mobilising popular opinion in favour of the Plan and associate themselves in the largest number with its implementation.

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## FOREIGN POCKETS—GOA

**E**VER since Independence, the Congress has been voicing its demand for the freedom and emancipation of the people in the foreign settlements in India. The question of French possessions in India having been settled through friendly negotiations, France and India now enjoy perfectly amicable relations. The problem of Portuguese possessions, however, remains and Goa continues to be a festering sore in the body of India. The Portuguese Government are striving hard to crush the national urge of the people under their colonial domination. The situation assumed alarming proportions when the Satyagrahis marched forward ignoring all torture and show of force and when the Portuguese resorted to brutal reprisal.

Before his departure for Russia, Shri Jawharlal Nehru had declared at Poona : "We would stick to the policy of peace in settling the Goa issue even if it means a delay of months or even a year or two in freeing the 'pocket'. But the Portuguese authorities should know and realise that they are there because we are patient and men of goodwill and think ahead and see the world situation as it is and do not wish to do something even in a small way which may have bigger repercussions". Congressmen showed commendable restraint inspite of the provocation from the Portuguese and the confusion created by other political parties. The Congress stand on the issue was made clear, first by the Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar, in his letter to Shri Radha Krishna Agarwal, General Secretary, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, on July 2, 1955, and subsequently, in the resolutions adopted by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting on July 23, 1955 and the AICC at its meeting on September 4, 1955.

An extract of the Congress President's letter to Shri Radha Krishna Agarwal regarding the Goa issue read : "You have to bear in mind the fact that no hurried decisions can and should be taken in such matters. They have to be considered from many aspects. The question of the Congress undertaking certain responsibilities in the nature of a struggle or even permitting individual Congressmen to participate in it, is a big step in itself. It can be taken only after the Working Committee has reviewed the whole position and reached a decision".

Meeting on July 23, 1955, the Congress Working Committee considered the Draft prepared by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru regarding Goa and adopted the following resolution :

"The Working Committee have given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India. The Committee have noted the courageous and sustained efforts of Goans to secure, through peaceful methods, the liberation of these territories and their integration with the Union of India, and convey to them their goodwill and full sympathy. The Committee regret that these peaceful attempts have been met by brutal methods by the Portuguese administration of Goa resulting in two deaths and heavy injuries caused to many by beatings.

The people of Goa have in the long past on more than one occasion asserted their right to freedom and were suppressed by the Portuguese authorities. Subsequently, in 1946, another attempt was made to assert this right to Goa's freedom. The Working Committee referred to this in a resolution passed in Wardha in August, 1946. In the course of this resolution, the Working Committee said :

"Recent events in Goa have compelled attention and brought to light the extremely backward state of these possessions. Economically, the people of these

possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation; politically they have practically no rights and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied. The fascist authoritarian administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this very small colony, which was once rich and prosperous and a centre of commercial activity and now is deserted, with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living."

This resolution further went on to say :

"Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status will be in a free India, can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority."

Two years later, in 1948, the Jaipur Session of the Congress passed a resolution on foreign possessions in India, and enunciated clearly the Congress policy in regard to them. This resolution was as follows :

"The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

"With the achievement of Independence for India, the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Governments concerned.

The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change-over therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which will not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of these possessions desire, and favour a measure of autonomy to be granted wherever possible, so as to enable the people of these possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India."

Other resolutions have been passed from time to time by the Congress or its Committees in regard to foreign establishments in India and, more particularly, Goa. The Calcutta Session of the AICC in March, 1952 stated that it "regrets the delay in the peaceful transfer of foreign settlements in India to the Indian Union. Such a transfer is essential from the point of view of the removal of any element of foreign domination in India and for the unity and security of India."

In July, 1954 the Ajmer session of the AICC stated that it "regrets to note that the Portuguese Government has taken up a wholly indefensible attitude in regard to Goa and its other establishments in India and is carrying on a policy of intense repression against those who favour merger with India. The integration of these foreign establishments into the Indian Union is an essential part of the liberation movement in India which led to the Independence of India. That movement will not have fulfilled its purpose till these foreign pockets also are freed and brought into the Indian Union." This resolution

further declared that in regard to these foreign establishments in India, "their religion, culture, customs and language will be given adequate protection."

In 1954, a friendly settlement was arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of the French Republic in regard to the French establishments in India which resulted in the *de facto* transfer of these establishments to the Union of India. The Avadi Session of the Congress, meeting in January, 1955, welcomed this settlement and again gave the assurance that "French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India's life and culture." The Congress went on to say that it "is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of these territories and complete the political integration of India".

It will thus be seen that the great movement for the freedom and Independence of India always envisaged the Portuguese establishments in India as an integral part of this country which must share with the rest of the Indian people the freedom that India was striving for. Ever since Independence, this fact has been repeatedly stated and, at the same time, cultural assurances have been given to the people of Goa. In accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and the traditions of the Indian national movement, peaceful methods for the solution of this question of Goa were always advocated and it was hoped that the transfer of the foreign pockets in India would take place peacefully and through negotiated settlement with the countries concerned. This hope was realised in the case of the French possessions. But, in spite of every effort of the Government of India, the Portuguese Government has refused even to enter into any negotiations for this purpose and has continued its policy of intense repression of the people of Goa and of utter denial of all forms of freedom or civil liberty.

In spite of this attitude of the Portuguese Government, the Congress has adhered to its peaceful methods and has accordingly advised the people of India, as well as Goa particularly. During the past few years thousands of Goans have suffered in the struggle for the freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union. The Goanese people have thus demonstrated in the most active manner their will to be freed from foreign domination and to join in comradeship in the freedom of the people of India.

The Portuguese Government have claimed that Goa is a centre of European culture, and, more particularly, of the Christian Catholic faith and that its transfer to India would imperil this culture and this faith. The so-called European culture represented by Portugal in Goa is a denial of everything that most countries of Europe stand for today. It is a denial of political freedom, of civil liberty and of economic and cultural advance. It is the conversion of Goa into a backward poverty-stricken territory, where the people have no rights or liberty, in marked contrast to the political freedom and economic advance of the rest of India.

The argument about the danger to the Christian Catholic Church in Goa has been countered by eminent dignitaries of the Catholic Church and by the fact that a large number of Catholics have participated in the struggle for Goa's freedom. It is further to be remembered that there are many millions of Catholics in the rest of India having the same freedom, political, cultural and religious, as the other people of India. Further, the population of Goa, which is about 600,000 consists of about one-third of Catholics and two-thirds of non-Christians. There are also large numbers of Goans living outside Goa in Indian territory. The Government of India have made it perfectly clear on repeated occasions that the religion, culture,

language and customs of the people of Goa will be protected and given freedom to function.

While, therefore, it is clear that the wishes of the people of Goa are for a merger with the Union of India, it is equally clear that India's liberation will not be complete till these remaining foreign pockets in India are also liberated and join the rest of India. For a foreign European power to hold on to any territory, however small, in India, will always be a source of danger to India as well as a denial of freedom to the people of that area.

In the circumstances detailed above, it becomes the right and duty of the people of Goa and the people of the rest of India, as well as of the Government of India, to strive for the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Union of India. The Working Committee have therefore welcomed the struggle for freedom and given it its sympathy. But, in accordance with its firm and declared policy, it has always emphasised that all methods employed must be peaceful. Any other method would be not only against India's national and international policy, but would create further and difficult problems. In a world which is continually thinking in terms of armed might, India has stood for a peaceful solution of conflicts and differences. The Working Committee are, therefore, clear that this peaceful policy of India must be continued and no attempts at violent solution of the problem should be encouraged.

The Working Committee are also of opinion that, while everyone in India is naturally and deeply interested in the freedom of Goa from foreign control, it is principally for the Goans themselves to carry on the struggle through peaceful methods. Satyagraha must necessarily be peaceful. These methods, as India's past history has shown, bear far-reaching results even though they might appear to be slow-moving.



The Working Committee are not in favour of attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering Satyagraha, as this is likely to change the nature of peaceful Satyagraha and might actually come in the way of the realisation of the objective aimed at.

The Working Committee trust that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with this peaceful policy, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa. The Committee also hope that the Portuguese Government will ultimately realise that the attitude it has taken in this matter is indefensible and opposed to the current of history and the spirit of the times. That attitude and policy will have to be given up. It is, therefore, far more desirable for this question to be settled as early as possible through peaceful negotiation than to delay matters till feelings are more strained and future relations of India and Portugal affected.'

The Goa situation was reviewed by the Congress after some time in view of certain developments which had taken place subsequently.

At the informal meeting of the AICC held on September 4, 1955, Dr. B.C. Roy moved a resolution on Goa which was seconded by Shri Morarji Desai. The resolution was put to vote and adopted unanimously. It read :

During the last nine years, the Congress has repeatedly expressed its views on the Portuguese possessions in India and pointed out the incongruity of a very small corner of India being under foreign colonial domination, when India herself had achieved freedom. As recently as July, 1955, the Working Committee passed a resolution on this subject affirming the right of the people of Goa to freedom and the ending of foreign rule in any part of India. The Committee reiterated that the struggle for the freedom of Goa must be carried on through peaceful

methods. Further, the Committee declared that it was not in favour of any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering Satyagraha.

2. Since this resolution was passed, various developments have taken place in these areas, which have naturally moved the Indian people deeply, and the All India Congress Committee has given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India.

3. In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, many have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resistance to colonialism. The Committee deplores and condemns the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government in their colonial rule on this part of the Indian mainland.

4. More recently, on the 15th of August this year the Portuguese authorities have fired upon unarmed people and killed a number of them and inflicted serious injuries on many more. To those who have thus suffered, the Committee pays its tribute and, to the families of the dead it extends its sympathy in their sad, though noble, bereavement.

5. The AICC places on record and proclaims its considered view that the shooting and killing of unarmed men and women by the Portuguese authorities is violation of International Law and a crime and is contrary to the well-established practice of civilised Governments.

6. The Committee has noted with appreciation and sympathy the continued endeavours of the Goan People, in spite of the fierce repression by the Portuguese authorities, to secure their freedom and the liberation of their territories from foreign rule, and conveys to them the goodwill and sympathy of their fellow country-men in free India.

7. The AICC recalls the unanimous decision of the nations assembled in the first Asian-African Conference at

Bandung last April against colonialism, and expresses the confident hope that all the participants in that Conference will support the cause of the liberation of Goa and the other Portuguese possessions and the people therein and condemn the suppression of their freedom movement and the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government.

8. The AICC warmly supports the decision of the Government of India to withdraw and withhold co-operation in respect of the Portuguese Government in this connection. In particular, the AICC appreciates the policy of the Government of India in this regard and in stating without reservation that they will seek a solution of this problem in accordance with their well-known and established principles and approach to all international problems and disputes, namely, those of peace and non-violence. This policy is not only in keeping with the national and international approach of India but, the AICC is convinced, is in the best interest of the Goan people themselves and their liberation.

9. The AICC fully appreciates and is in sympathy with the strong feelings that have been aroused all over India in favour of the liberation of these Portuguese possessions in India and against the brutal suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the freedom movement there. The Committee would, however, appeal to the people of India to view this problem in its national and international context and not on any party basis, and to support the Government of India's policy in this matter. Any differing and conflicting policies will weaken the national resolve and also the efforts to secure liberation of Goa.

10. In their last resolution on Goa, the Working Committee issued a warning against any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside. This warning was unfortunately not fully heeded. The AICC is strongly of opinion that any mass entry into Goa, in the name of Satyagraha or

otherwise, is undesirable. The Government of India, after the withdrawal of co-operation from the Portuguese Government, have closed and sealed the borders of Portuguese possessions in India, and in these circumstances, any entry into Goan territory by Indian nationals will be inappropriate. The AICC is, therefore, of opinion that, in the present context, even individual Satyagraha by Indian nationals should be avoided.

11. The AICC is confident that the people of Goa and Daman and Diu will regain their freedom and Portugal will be compelled to relinquish the authoritarian rule of her possessions in India. The Committee sends its greeting to the Goan people and expresses its full sympathy with them in their legitimate and laudable aspirations and efforts for freeom.

12. The Committee hopes that even at this stage the Portuguese Government will realise that their methods are contrary to the ideas and trends of the modern world and to civilised procedures, and are strongly resented by Asian and all freedom-loving peoples and that they will refrain from further repression and violence, and will agree to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

13. The Committee trusts that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with their policy of peace, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa, and appeals to the people to give full support to this national policy.

## **TILAK CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS**

**T**HE question of the formation of a Committee for the Tilak Centenary Celebrations came before the Working Committee in November, 1954. The Working Committee decided to appoint a Preparatory Committee consisting of Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Deokinandan Narayan, Shri R. Venkataraman, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shri U.S. Malliah to suggest methods and ways of celebrating the Tilak Centenary.

The recommendations of the Preparatory Committee were considered by the Working Committee in March, 1955. The following decisions were taken :

(1) Request to be made to the Ministry of Communications for issuing Tilak Centenary Stamps in July, 1956 at the time of the celebrations ;

(2) A prize of Rs. 10,000 to be announced for the best biography in Hindi and English ;

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Shri B. G. Kher and Acharya Narendra Dev were to be requested to form the Selection Committee ;

(3) The Committee approved the formation of a Central Committee consisting of 53 persons with Shri Morarji Desai as Chairman and Shri N. V. Gadgil, Shri Jainarain Vyas and Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair as Secretaries. The Central Committee was given power to add to their number ; and

(4) There was the suggestion that a portrait of Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak should be put in the Central Hall of Parliament.

The following press note was issued regarding the biography of Lokmanya Tilak, on March 29, 1955 :

'The Indian National Congress has decided to celebrate the birthday Centenary of Lokmanya Tilak in the month of July, 1956. In this connection it has been decided that a good biography of Lokmanya Tilak be published. A Selection Committee consisting of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Shri B. G. Kher and Acharya Narendra Dev has been constituted. This Committee will review the biographies submitted to the Committee and will give its award to the best one out of the many that may be submitted. The decision of the Committee shall be final.

The biography may be in Hindi or English. The manuscripts should be submitted to the Office of the All India Congress Committee, 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi, before December 1, 1955. A sum of Rs. 10,000/- will be paid to the author whose biography will be considered best by the Selection Committee'.

The date for submitting the biography was later on extended to December 31, 1955.

The Tilak Centenary Central Committee met at the Congress House, Bombay, on April 15, 1955 and approved the following suggestions :

- (a) The celebrations should be from July 23 to August 1, 1956 ;
- (b) The Government should be requested to declare July 23—Birthday of Lokmanya Tilak—a Public Holiday ;
- (c) The Celebrations should include processions, public meetings, flag hoistations and such other items as may be finally approved ;
- (d) A Full-size Oil Painting of Lokmanya Tilak should be hung in the Central Hall of Parliament, and

another in the Legislative Assembly Hall of Bombay State ;

- (e) Certain suggestions in connection with having some Memorial at Ratnagiri where Lokmanya Tilak was born were considered, but it was decided that the Regional Committee of Maharashtra should make definite proposals about the same ;
- (f) It was decided to publish a Commemoration Volume in English and in Hindi, and a Committee of the following members was appointed to work out the scheme and put up proposals within three months before the Central Committee :
  - (1) Shri B. G. Kher
  - (2) Shri T. R. Deogirakar
  - (3) Shri D. V. Gokhale
  - (4) Shri Jainarain Vyas ;
- (g) It was further decided that a Committee consisting of Shri Brijlal Biyani and Shri Jayant S. Tilak be constituted and requested to bring out a small booklet containing Tilak's views on important matters. This should be published in Hindi. Details of this should be submitted by the Committee within three months ;
- (h) The Government should be requested to issue special postal stamps in celebration of the Centenary ;
- (i) All Indian newspapers should be requested to bring out special Numbers of their papers during the Celebration week ; and
- (j) The various Regional Committees to be formed in the Pradeshes should be requested to raise the necessary funds, and Shri S. K. Patil who is the Treasurer, will also take steps in the matter.

## **FLOODS AND RELIEF**

**C**ROPS valued approximately at Rs. 65 crores had been damaged and about 800 human lives and over 24,000 cattle were lost in the floods during the year 1955 in the States of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, PEPSU and Andhra. The loss of property has been valued over Rs. 25 crores in Assam, Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 crores in the Punjab and Rs. 14 crores in PEPSU.

The floods were particularly devastating in Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab. It is said that no such floods took place in U. P. during the last 85 years. Caused chiefly by excessively heavy rains, the floods wiped out thousands of villages and vast lakes were formed covering sometimes parts of several districts. The miseries of flood-stricken people of Bihar were said to be greater than during the terrible earthquake of 1934. Over 1,300,000 acres were badly affected and 30,000 houses collapsed in the flood-stricken Samastipur area. Equally devastating was the Punjab floods. However, in spite of the unprecedented and unexpected calamity, the morale of the people remained high and they faced the situation with determination and courage.

Apart from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who made a tour of the flood-affected areas and also appealed to the people for contribution to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to facilitate provisions of relief, the Congress President, accompanied by Shri Shriman Narayan visited the flood-affected areas to have an actual view of the heavy damage wrought by the floods. Their presence strengthened the morale of those affected, giving them confidence. The



Congress Seva Dal volunteers were busy providing succour to the people in whatever manner they could. The All India Congress Committee distributed Rs. 1,56,286/9/6 for flood relief work to the PCCs of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Punjab, PEPSU, Delhi and Tamilnad. This amount was meant to be spent through the Pradesh Congress Committees for rendering immediate relief to the flood-stricken population in different areas.

As for the assistance given by the Central Government to the States for flood relief, West Bengal had been granted Rs. 99.42 lakhs as grant-in-aid and Rs. 98.67 lakhs as loan. PEPSU had been given Rs. 1 crore and Himachal Pradesh Rs. 20 lakhs as advances. Over Rs. 11 lakhs had been received in cash from foreign countries for flood relief.

## CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

**T**HE Working Committee, after the Avadi Session, set up the Parliamentary Board consisting of the Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar (Chairman), Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Jagjiwan Ram and Shri Morarji Desai. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair was appointed Secretary of the Parliamentary Board.

The Congress Legislators met in Avadi, with Shri U.N. Dhebar in the Chair.

The Conference passed the following resolution unanimously :

“With a view to considering questions of common concern, the Central Parliamentary Board may be requested to invite representatives from the Congress Parties of various Legislatures in the country to meet in a Convention.”

In the meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees at Avadi, Shri U. N. Dhebar said : “The trend of power politics evidenced in the attempt to capture Legislatures and offices, has produced its own reactions, thereby adversely affecting the Organisation itself. Organisational and parliamentary complaints are received from most of the Pradeshes. All these indicate the growth of a disease and we should take prompt steps to deal with the disease rather than the symptoms. We must resist its corrupt influence and purify the Organisation with our combined strength by eliminating all tendencies to power politics.”

Addressing the meeting Shri Jawaharlal Nehru cautioned : “We must not merely select candidates or mem-

bers of the Committees, etc., on extraneous grounds just because we think that we can win a seat or because they have money or some other things." He added : "At present, we wake up during the elections. Look at it from the money point of view, and we see what a tremendous waste of money and energy all this involves. If we work properly so as to have an effective organisational set-up, we will achieve much greater results in the elections and other work."

### **Co-ordination between Ministries and PCCs :**

The Working Committee in its meeting on July 23, 1955 appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Morarji Desai, Dr. B. C. Roy and Shri Kamaraj Nadar to suggest conventions to be followed in future in the matter of co-ordination between the Ministries and the PCCs.

The Sub-Committee, during their discussions, felt that any set of rigid or set rules at that stage might come in the way of maintenance of sufficient elasticity in the relationship between the various wings to permit of work being carried on in a team spirit. They, however, made the following suggestions for general guidance.

1. The Chief Minister should arrange for meetings of Ministers with the office-bearers of the Pradesh Congress Committees as frequently as necessary for consultation and exchange of thought. He may also invite them to Legislature Party meetings for sounding feelings and opinions.

2. The President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Chief Minister should meet as frequently as may be necessary. The President should be regarded as an *ex-officio* member of the Party Executive, and the Chief Minister, of the Executive of the PCC. The Ministers and the members of the PCC Executive should ordinarily meet once every quarter. All matters suggested for discussion by the President or the Chief Minister should be included in the agenda.

3. When the Chief Minister or his Cabinet colleagues go out on tour, they should give intimation to the local Committees and meet them to discuss local problems or any complaints that Congressmen may have about local affairs.

4. All Bills should be sent to the PCC for comments immediately on their publication. The Ministers should be allowed to carry on their day-to-day administrative functions freely, and there should be no interference in the matter of transfers, appointments, promotions and dismissals. Judicial proceedings should not be the subject even of private discussion. The independence of the Judiciary should be maintained. If there are any complaints about local officers, the same should be sent to the President or the Chief Minister, but no criticism should be made in any other manner. The Congress Committees or Congressmen should not criticise the Government publicly or in the columns of newspapers. If there is any difference of opinion about a matter of policy which cannot be resolved locally, a reference should be made to the Parliamentary Board and its help should be sought, but in no case should such differences be made the subject of public discussion. Ministers should do everything reasonable to raise the strength and prestige of the Congress and Congressmen should actively support the policies of the Government and remove misunderstandings. Wherever any serious complaints are made by the President of the PCC, the Ministry should examine them and, if necessary, take suitable steps against delinquent officials. If any complaint is made about the misbehaviour or perverse attitude of any Congressman with regard to official or other matters, the President should take suitable disciplinary action. Assistance of Congressmen should be sought for constructive work, Community Projects, National Extension Service Blocks, Social Welfare Boards, etc. Congressmen should co-operate with Ministers and local

authorities in procuring voluntary labour and giving effect to other schemes for the general uplift of the people.

5. The Provincial Congress Committee Executive and the Cabinet should work as integral parts of an organic whole with complete understanding and realisation of the basic fact that their interests are inter-linked and inter-dependent and neither can succeed without the voluntary co-operation of the other.

The recommendations were placed before the Conference of the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees and the Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties held on September 2, 1955. The Conference unanimously endorsed them.

The Parliamentary Board in its meeting on September 5, 1955, adopted the report and expressed the view that the principles outlined in the report should, in general, be the guiding factors in determining the relationship between the Organisation and the Government.

### **Same person holding several positions :**

The Working Committee had appointed a Standing Committee in accordance with the resolution on 'Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation' adopted at Avadi. The recommendations of the Standing Committee were approved by the Berhampur Session of the AICC. In the matter of a person holding a number of posts in the Organisation and Administration, the Standing Committee recommended that "the practice of a person holding a number of positions in the Congress Organisation, Legislatures and Local Bodies should be discouraged. At present the same person holds several positions and evokes legitimate jealousies and frictions. Our general convention should be : One man, one position. Exception could, however, be allowed by the Leaders of the Party or the PCC Presidents."

### **Non-Congress members and Congress Legislature Party:**

The Parliamentary Board felt that no departure should be made from the existing practice, namely, that non-Congress members of the Legislature may be admitted to the Congress Legislature Party with the approval of a three-fourth majority of the members present and voting. The decision is to be taken in consultation with the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned.

### **Formation of Pradesh Election Committee :**

The Parliamentary Board felt that some changes should be made in the Congress Constitution. Article XXVIII (b) Para 2, reading as follows :

“In case a  $2/3$  majority is not secured for all the members to be elected, there shall be a fresh election by the system of Single Transferable vote”

should read as follows :

“The members securing the required  $2/3$  majority shall be declared elected and there shall be a fresh election (elections) till the remaining members are elected by a  $2/3$  majority ”

(The formal procedure shall have to be adopted to bring about the change in the Congress Constitution.)

### **Election of the Leader of the Legislature Party in States :**

The Board generally agreed that, as far as possible, the election of the Leader should be unanimous and that the Board should give guidance to the members of the Congress Legislature Party from time to time. Once the Leader was elected, he should be given freedom to select his colleagues in the Ministry with the guidance of the Congress President.

### **Central Election Committee :**

In terms of the Congress Constitution, Article XXVIII (a), the AICC elected the following members of the Central Election Committee on September 4, 1955 :

- (1) Shrimati Indira Gandhi
  - (2) Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
  - (3) Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar
  - (4) Dr. B. C. Roy
- and (5) Shri U. S. Malliah.

288 members took part in the voting.

The Central Election Committee, thus, will consist of the members of the Parliamentary Board and the above five members, elected by the AICC.

The Central Election Committee met on October 12 and 13, 1955. The Committee decided that each Pradesh Congress Committee should be advised to bring out election literature in its regional language in the following form :

- (1) Brochures of 8 to 10 pages explaining Congress ideals and objectives ; and
- (2) Pamphlets of 40 pages or so, giving an estimate of the work done by the State Government as well as the Union Government.

The Committee took the following decision regarding the qualifications of the candidates and the procedure of their selection :

**(a) Qualifications of Candidates :**

In selecting the candidates the following points should be taken into consideration :

- 1. Whether an Active member of the Congress :
- 2. Past record of work ;
- 3. Social outlook, particularly relating to untouchability, land reforms, labour welfare and economic justice ;
- 4. Participation in constructive work under the Congress or the recognised institutions engaged in constructive work ;

5. Experience in Legislatures, Municipalities or other local bodies ;
6. Observance of discipline ;
7. If a sitting member, his contact with the constituency ; and
8. Regularity in payment of contributions to the Party.

**(b) Procedure of Selection :**

The Pradesh Election Committee should invite suggestions from members of the District Congress Committees and others with regard to the candidates to be put up in the various constituencies in their districts. The Pradesh Election Committee should then, in consultation with a Representative of the Central Election Committee, choose its representatives to visit the head-quarters of each district and, after ascertaining local opinion, suggest a Panel of suitable names, not exceeding 5, for each constituency. From this Panel, the Pradesh Election Committee, sitting with the Representative of the Central Election Committee, should select a candidate for each constituency and send its recommendations to the Central Election Committee along with the Panel of names, giving reasons for the choice. In case the recommendations of the Pradesh Election Committee are not unanimous, the views of those who dissent should also be sent along with the majority recommendations. The Central Election Committee should thereafter scrutinise the recommendations of the Pradesh Election Committee and make the final selection.

The process of selection should start at least six months before, and the names of the candidates finally approved should be announced one month prior to the date of nomination.



### **Questionnaire regarding the next General Elections :**

The General Elections would take place in early 1957. To avoid hastening at the last moment, it was felt necessary to start the preparatory work in time. The first step was taken in the direction of collecting certain data.

Two Questionnaire and Data forms were sent to the Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties and the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees with a request to furnish the AICC Office with detailed and as accurate information as possible on the items mentioned in the forms.

### **General Elections in Andhra :**

On November 6, 1954, a resolution was moved in the Andhra Legislative Assembly by the Opposition expressing want of confidence in the Government for their failure to implement the recommendations made by the Ramamurthy Committee on the working of Prohibition in Andhra. The resolution was passed by a majority of one. The Ministry resigned and asked for the dissolution of the Assembly and holding of fresh elections. The Parliamentary Board approved of the decision.

The Election Commission announced the election programme for February, 1955. The Andhra Congress, the K. L. P. and the Andhra Praja Party united themselves to fight the elections. The candidates were selected jointly in consultation with each other. They contested the elections in the name of 'United Congress Party'. But each party had its own symbol. The Party put before the electorate a 25-point common election programme.

In the General Elections of 1951-52, there were 140 seats for the Madras Legislative Assembly from Andhra. The Congress contested all the seats but could win only 40 seats. Other parties, namely, Communist got 41, K. M. P.

20, K. L. P. 15, Socialist 6, S. C. F. 2 and Independents 16 seats.

With the landslide against the Congress in the 1951-52 elections, the hopes of the Communist Party rose high.

The elections of 1955 were held under the new Delimitation Order of Andhra Legislative Assembly Constituencies, according to which the Assembly has 196 seats.

The number of seats won and total votes polled by each party in the elections of 1955 are given below :

<i>Party</i>	<i>Seats</i>	<i>Total votes polled</i>	<i>Percentage of votes</i>
United Congress Party	146	42,65,814	49.5
Communists	15	26,95,562	31.2
P. S. P.	13	4,82,825	5.6
Independents	22	11,73,745	13.6
Jan Sangh	...	8,164	0.1
	196	86,26,110	100.0

The U. C. P. contested 188 seats and the Communists contested 159 seats. In the case of a large number of seats, there were straight contests between the U. C. P. and Communist candidates. The Andhra people gave overwhelming support to United Congress Party. The crushing defeat of the Communist Party nominees in Andhra clearly indicated where the option of the people lay. The Ministry was formed with Shri Gopala Reddi as the Chief Minister and Shri Sanjiva Reddy as the Deputy Chief Minister.

### **Pondicherry Elections :**

The people of former French settlements, Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam went to the polls in July, 1955 to elect their representatives for the Pondicherry Representative Assembly, consisting of 39 members. The *de facto* transfer of power of these settlements to India was effected on November 1, 1954.

The Congress secured a bare majority of 20 out of these 39 seats. They are distributed as follows :

Karaikal	...	9 out of 12 seats
Pondicherry	...	8 out of 22 seats
Mahe	...	1 out of 3 seats
Yanam	...	2 out of 2 seats (uncontested)
		<hr/>
Total		20 seats.

The Peoples Front (Communist) and Independents won 16 and 3 seats respectively. The other two parties, the Mahajan Sabha and the National Congress were also in the field but could not secure any seat. The total number of votes polled in these elections were 1,42,623. The Congress secured 53,682, i.e., 37.6 per cent and the Peoples Front 51,015, i.e., 35.0 per cent of the total votes polled

In Pondicherry the Congress did not fare well. The Congress did not secure any seat in Pondicherry city and the surrounding areas. All the 8 seats in Pondicherry were won by the Congress from the liberated areas of Nettapakkam, Mannadipet and Bahour communes.

#### **Bilaspur (Himachal) Elections :**

The State of Bilaspur was merged with Himachal Pradesh on July 1, 1954. Five members to the Himachal Legislative Assembly were to be elected from Bilaspur. The Bilaspur people had the opportunity of electing their representatives for the Assembly for the first time. The elections were held on May 1, 1955. The Congress had put up candidates for all the five seats. No candidate succeeded.

After the elections, Raja Shri Anandchand, who was elected as an Independent candidate, resigned from his seat. Consequently, a bye-election was held there. The Congress won in the bye-election by a comfortable majority, inasmuch as the Organisation had been consolidated there to a certain extent after the reverses of the first elections.

## PEPSU

Col. Raghbir Singh, Chief Minister of PEPSU, died on January 7, 1955. The Parliamentary Board recommended Shri Brish Bhan as the new Leader of the PEPSU Congress Legislature Party. He was sworn in as Chief Minister on January 10, 1955, and his Ministry consisted of all the four Ministers, three Deputy Ministers and one Parliamentary Secretary of the previous Ministry.

The members of the Parliamentary Board received a memorandum signed by 16 members of the PEPSU Assembly Congress Party in the third week of January 1955, requesting the Board that they might be allowed to elect the Leader of the Party at the earliest. Three of the signatories later on withdrew their support in writing. The Congress President, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote to the General Secretary, of the Congress Party in PEPSU that in the situation obtaining in the State indiscipline should by no means be encouraged and that the Parliamentary Board would take the final decision after considering the issues involved. The Congress leaders of PEPSU had a series of meetings with the members of the Parliamentary Board and the General Secretaries of the Congress when attempts were made to resolve the internal differences and factions.

A meeting of the members of the PEPSU Assembly Congress Party was held in Patiala on April 2, 1955. All the thirty-seven members of the Party, excluding the Speaker, participated in the meeting. Shri Shriman Narayan was deputed to attend the meeting by the Congress President. Shri Brish Bhan was unanimously elected Leader of the Party. Shri Harcharan Singh proposed his name and Nawab of Malerkotla seconded it.

## ANDHRA

In the General Elections of February, 1955 to the Andhra Legislative Assembly, United Congress Party secured 146 seats out of a total of 196.

The Congress President visited Andhra in the second week of March, 1955 with a view to making arrangements for the efficient working of the Organisation as well as the Government. In the informal meeting of the general body of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and the Legislators elected on United Congress Party ticket, the Congress President stressed the necessity of unanimous election of the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The United Congress Legislature Party unanimously elected Shri Gopala Reddi as its Leader on March 20, 1955. His name was proposed by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddi and Shri G. Latchanna seconded. Shri Gopala Reddi formed his Cabinet of eight including himself, on March 20, 1955.

Shri N. V. Rama Rao, Agriculture Minister, died on May 4, 1955.

## PUNJAB

The Opposition Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly levelled certain charges against Lala Jagat Narain, Minister of Education, Transport and Health, on March 23, 1955. Lala Jagat Narain relinquished his Education portfolio in order to let the members of the Opposition have fullest opportunity to prove the allegations against him and the Education portfolio was taken over by the Chief Minister, Shri Bhimsen Sachar.

Shri U. N. Dhebar and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant considered all the charges as thoroughly as possible. They placed their report before the meeting of the Parliamentary Board held on May 22, 1955. The Board accepted the report and was of opinion that on the materials before it, there was no *prima facie* case against Shri Jagat Narain. The Board further decided that Shri Jagat Narain could, if he so chose, take whatever legal action he felt necessary against those who had made the allegations.

Shri Bhimsen Sachar lifted the ban in force in Amritsar on linguistic slogans on July 12, 1955. The Executive Committee of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee in a resolution disapproved of the step taken by the Chief Minister. The rift appeared in the Congress Legislature Party also. Forty members of the Party sent a requisition to Shri Bhimsen Sachar to hold a meeting of the Congress Legislature Party to discuss this action of withdrawing the ban on linguistic slogans. The Parliamentary Board reviewed the developments in the light of the above situation in the Punjab on August 4, 1955. The Board was of opinion that no useful purpose would be served in allowing the members to discuss the subject in a party meeting and that it would only complicate matters and stand in the way of creating the atmosphere necessary to facilitate proper understanding and for joint action. The Board also decided that the Party leaders should not seek a vote of confidence on this issue. The requisitionists later on accepted the advice of the members of the Parliamentary Board and withdrew the requisition.

Shri Bhimsen Sachar, Chief Minister, resigned in the second week of January, 1956, and the Parliamentary Board accepted the resignation.

## RAJASTHÁN

The elections of the office-bearers and the members of the Executive Committee of the Rajasthan Congress Legislature Party were held on February 28, 1955. Shri P. Chakraverti, Secretary, Parliamentary Department, was deputed on behalf of the AICC to help the elections. For each office two members contested. The elections were held by ballots on 'distributive vote' system.

In March, 1955 nine Harijan members of the Rajasthan Congress Legislature Party addressed a letter to the Leader of the Party, Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, expressing their lack of confidence in Shri Amritlal Yadav, Harijan

Minister. The matter came before the Parliamentary Board for consideration. The Board was of opinion that the matter should be dealt with by the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Rajasthan, and the Board should take no notice of it.

The complaints made by some Congressmen of Bikaner against Shri Kumbharam, Minister, came before the Parliamentary Board for consideration. The Board felt that Shri Kumbharam in his statement before the District Magistrate, Jaipur, in connection with the legal proceedings which he had started against a local weekly, practically touched on most of the points mentioned in the complaints made against him. In view of the fact that in the course of legal proceedings all these matters would come up for examination before the Court, the Board did not find it advisable to hold any separate enquiry into the allegations.

In October, 1955 Shri Kumbharam submitted his resignation to the Chief Minister, Shri Sukhadia, from the Ministry. The resignation was accepted with the approval of the Parliamentary Board.

## DELHI

The differences among the members of the Congress Legislature Party became acute in early January, 1955. The Parliamentary Board authorised Shri Govind Ballabh Pant to look into the matter and take such action as might be deemed necessary. Fifteen prominent Congressmen of Delhi issued an appeal to all Congressmen of Delhi both in the Administration and the Organisation to create an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill and, for that purpose, refrain from doing anything that was likely to disturb the atmosphere. The Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, simultaneously in another statement assured Congressmen of Delhi that all assistance and co-operation on his part would be made available to them

in order to remove the causes of misunderstanding that existed among them.

In early February, 1955 Shri Govind Ballabh Pant had a series of meetings with the members of the Delhi Congress Legislature Party to resolve their differences. He impressed on all Congressmen to try to find out a solution themselves in an amicable manner. In the meeting on February 8, 1955 Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh, the then Speaker of the Delhi Legislative Assembly, was unanimously elected Leader of the Party. Consequently, Choudhury Brahm Prakash resigned along with his Cabinet members. The new Ministry consisting of Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh (Chief Minister), Shri Brahm Prakash and Dr. Yudhvair Singh were sworn in on February 12, 1955.

Dr. Sushila Nayar, former State Rehabilitation Minister, was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly on February 25, 1955.

Some members of the Congress Legislature Party sent in a requisition to the Leader requesting him to convene a meeting of the Party to discuss matters relating to :

- (a) selection of text books ;
- (b) bonded warehouse ;
- (c) appointment of non-Congressmen as Chairmen of the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Committee of Assurances ; and
- (d) appointment of the fourth Minister.

This resulted in a fresh controversy. The matter came up before the Parliamentary Board for consideration. The Board impressed upon the persons concerned the need for unquestioned loyalty to and the fullest co-operation with the Chief Minister, Shri Gurmukh Nihal Singh, who had taken up the duties of the Leader at a crucial stage at the request of the members themselves.



The Parliamentary Board was assured of such loyalty and co-operation. The differences were thus amicably settled.

## MADHYA BHARAT

Shri Takhatmal Jain was elected to the Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly in a bye-election from Bhilsa constituency in the first week of February, 1955. The Parliamentary Board felt that the initiative in bringing about a change of leadership of the Madhya Bharat Congress Legislature Party should be left to the local leaders.

On April 2, 1955 Shri Takhatmal Jain was unanimously elected Leader of the Madhya Bharat Congress Legislature Party at a meeting of the Party members. The then Chief Minister, Shri Mishrilal Gangwal, who had proposed the name of Shri Jain after submitting his resignation from the Party leadership, was elected Deputy Leader of the Party.

Shri Mishrilal Gangwal and his colleagues in the Cabinet resigned and Shri Takhatmal Jain was administered the oath of office as Chief Minister on April 16, 1955. Shri Jain took all the eight Ministers, including Shri Mishrilal Gangwal, and three Deputy Ministers of the former Ministry. There was no major change in the allocation of the portfolios as well.

## TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

In December, 1954 the Parliamentary Board had decided that if any occasion arose where, in the opinion of the Congress Legislature Party in Travancore-Cochin, a proposal of the Government was not desirable from the point of view of Congress principles or the interests of the State, it might be opposed or substantive proposals should be put forward by the Congress Party.

A vote of no confidence was moved in the Travancore-Cochin Assembly by an Independent member against the

eleven-month old Praja Socialist Ministry. The no-confidence motion was carried on February 8, 1955, 60 voting for, 30 against, and 27 remaining neutral. The Congress (46), T.T.N.C. (12), and Independents (2) voted for the motion. The Parliamentary Board later reviewed the situation and were of opinion that attempts should be made to form an alternate Ministry, if there was the prospect of having a stable Government in the State. The T.T.N.C. members decided to join the Congress and they got themselves enrolled as primary members. When the Congress was assured of the firm support of 61 votes in a House of 118 members, the Leader of the Party, Shri P. Govinda Menon, agreed to form the Government. A five-man Congress Ministry, with Shri P. Govinda Menon as Chief Minister, was thus sworn in on February 14, 1955.

#### VINDHYA PRADESH

Shri Lalaram Bajpai, Home Minister, submitted his resignation to the Chief Minister, Shri S. N. Shukla, from his Cabinet. Shri Shukla accepted the resignation with the approval of the Parliamentary Board in early November, 1955. Shri Dashrath Jain was appointed Home Minister on November 7, 1955.

#### PONDICHERRY

In the elections to the Pondicherry Representative Assembly held in July, 1955, the Congress secured 20 seats out of 39. Three members elected on the ticket of the People's Front joined the Congress Party. Shri Pakkiriswami Pillai was elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The Party also elected 6 councillors. The six-member Council

of the Government was sworn in on August 17, 1955. Shri Pakkiriswami Pillai died on January 13, 1956.

### **Bye-elections**

There have been 14 bye-elections to Lok Sabha and 40 bye-elections to the State Legislative Assemblies in the year, 1955.

Out of these 14 bye-elections to Lok Sabha, 5 were held in Uttar Pradesh, two each in Madhya Pradesh and Madras and one each in Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, PEPSU and West Bengal. Seven of the vacancies had occurred by deaths, four by resignations and three consequent on the annulment of elections by the Election Tribunals. The Congress had captured 12 of them in the last General Elections, and in the bye-elections the Congress could retain 9 of them. Two seats, namely, Kanpur (U.P.) and Hoshangabad (Madhya Pradesh) were lost to the P. S. P. candidates and Gorakhpur Central seat was lost to an Independent. The Congress gained one seat in these bye-elections, namely, Dharmapuri (Madras) Constituency, which was captured by an Independent in the last General Elections. The Congress did not contest the bye-election from Purnea-cum-Santhal (Scheduled Tribes) Constituency. This seat was captured by the Jharkhand Party in the General Elections and it was retained by the party in the bye-election. Thus, in these 14 Parliamentary bye-elections, the Congress secured 10 seats, as against 12 in the General Elections.

Out of the total 40 bye-elections to the State Legislative Assemblies, 20 vacancies had occurred by deaths, 8 by resignations, and 12 as a result of the award of Election Tribunals. The Congress had captured 24 seats in the General Elections whereas in the bye-elections, it secured 33 seats. The comparative analysis of the

seats captured by different parties in the General Elections and bye-elections is as follows :

<i>Party</i>	<i>Bye-elections</i>	<i>General Elections</i>
Congress	33	24
Independents	3	5
P.S.P.	2	7
Ganatantra Parishad	1	—
Communists	1	1
Forward Bloc	—	1
Hindu Mahasabha	—	2
	<hr/> 40 <hr/>	<hr/> 40 <hr/>

Out of the 24 seats captured by the Congress in the General Elections, it retained 21 seats in the bye-elections. Out of the three seats which were lost by the Congress in the bye-elections, Gonda South (U.P.) and Belgaum Rural (Bombay) were captured by Independents, and Yaval (Bombay) by the P.S.P. On the other hand, the Congress gained 12 seats in these bye-elections which were captured by other parties in the General Elections. These gains are from the P.S.P. 5, Hindu Mahasabha 2, Forward Bloc 1, and Independents 4.

The Assembly bye-election results for the year 1955 evidently show that the Congress has regained its popularity in the constituencies where it failed to secure success in the General Elections. In the case of Parliamentary bye-elections, the Congress lost 3 seats in Kanpur, Gorakhpur and Hoshangabad, because of the extraordinary situation that developed in these areas.

Since the last General Elections, there had been 39 bye-elections to Lok Sabha. The Congress had captured 32 of these seats in the General Elections. In the bye-elections, the Congress succeeded in securing 25 seats. Details are shown in Appendix I.

To State Legislative Assemblies, there had been 214 bye-elections since the last General Elections. Of these, the Congress had captured 124 seats in the last General Elections. In the bye-elections, the Congress secured 130 seats. Thus, as a result of these bye-elections, there is a net gain of 6 seats to the Congress. Details are given in Appendix II.

### **Voting Analysis :**

Comparative voting analyses of the total bye-elections held so far to Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies show that the Congress has gained in percentage of votes in the bye-elections as compared to the percentage of votes polled in the same constituencies in the last General Elections.

In regard to Lok Sabha, the total percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress in the bye-elections have increased to 49.4 per cent from 48.8 per cent polled in the last General elections. As for the State Assemblies, the total percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress has risen to 48.9 per cent from 39.8 per cent polled in the General Elections.

Detailed State-wise voting analysis of respective parties is given in Appendixes III, III(A), IV, and (IV)(A).

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# **APPENDIX I** **ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTION RESULTS FOR LOK SABHA** **(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)**

Serial Number and State	Number of Elections held	Seats won in Bye-Elections				Seats won in General Elections				Net Result
		By Congress	P.S.P Nil	By Other Parties Nil	By Congress	P.S.P. Nil	By Other Parties Nil	By Congress	P.S.P. Nil	
1. Assam	...	1	Nil	1	2	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
2. Bihar	...	4	Nil	1	1	1	1	1	1	-2
3. Bombay	...	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
4. Madhya Bharat	...	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil	Nil
5. Madhya Pradesh	...	6	3	Nil	6	3	Nil	2	Nil	-3
6. Madras	...	5	3	1	3	1	2	2	Nil	Nil
7. Orissa	...	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
8. Punjab	...	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
9. PEPSU	...	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
10. Rajasthan	...	4	3	1	3	Nil	1	1	Nil	Nil
11. Saurashtra	...	2	2	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Nil
12. Travancore-Cochin	...	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
13. Uttar Pradesh	...	7	5	1	7	1	1	7	Nil	-2
14. West Bengal	...	4	3	1	3	Nil	1	3	Nil	Nil
Net Loss : 7	39	25	8	6	32	1	6	6	1	-7

## **Seats lost by Congress in bye-elections to P.S.P.—7.**

1. Muzaffarpur—North-West (Bihar)
2. Bhagalpur cum Purnea—(Bihar)
3. Mahasamund—(Madhya Pradesh)
4. Kurnool—(Andhra)
5. Bhandara—General—(Madhya Pradesh)
6. Kanpur—(U.P.)
7. Hoshangabad—(Madhya Pradesh)
8. Gorakhpur Central (U.P.)

## **Seat lost to Independent—1.**

**Seat Gained by Congress  
from Independent—1**  
 Dharampuri—(Madras)

## APPENDIX II.

ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTION RESULTS FOR STATE ASSEMBLIES  
(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)

Serial Number and State	Bye-Elections				General Elections				Net Result
	Number of Elec- tions held	Seats won by Congress	Seats won by P. S. P.	Seats won by other parties & Indpts.	Seats won by Congress	Seats won by other parties & Indpts.			
						P. S. P.	S.P. K.M.P.P.		
1. Ajmer	5	2	Nil	3	3	Nil	Nil	2	-1
2. Andhra	2	2	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
3. Assam	8	2	3	3	Nil	2	Nil	6	+2
4. Bihar	13	9	3	1	7	2	Nil	4	-2
5. Bombay	13	8	2	3	11	Nil	Nil	2	-3
6. Delhi	7	2	Nil	5	5	Nil	Nil	2	-3
7. Hyderabad	11	6	1	4	6	Nil	Nil	5	Nil
8. Madhya Bharat	9	5	1	3	5	Nil	Nil	4	Nil
9. Himachal Pradesh	4	2	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	4	+2
10. Madhya Pradesh	16	11	3	2	13	1	1	1	-2
11. Madras	23	12	6	5	9	4	4	6	+3
12. Mysore	5	5	Nil	Nil	3	Nil	Nil	2	+2
13. Orissa	11	6	2	3	4	Nil	Nil	7	+2
14. PEPSU	2	1	Nil	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil
15. Punjab	16	10	2	4	10	Nil	Nil	6	Nil
16. Rajasthan	15	13	1	1	4	1	Nil	10	+9
17. Saurashtra	7	6	Nil	1	6	Nil	Nil	1	Nil
18. Travancore-Cochin	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
19. Uttar Pradesh	19	9	7	3	15	3	Nil	1	-6
20. Vindhya Pradesh	13	8	4	1	10	2	Nil	1	-2
21. West Bengal	14	10	1	3	9	Nil	2	3	+1
Total	214	130	37	47	124	15	7	68	+6

## Appendix II (Contd.)

Out of these 214 seats :

1	Contested by Congress in Bye-elections	203	6. Lost by Congress to	P. S. P.	22
2.	" " in General Elections	209		Communists	2
3	" " P. S. P. in Bye-elections	106		Jan Sangh	3
4.	" " " in General Elections	129		Hindu Mahasabha	4
5.	<b>Retained by Congress in Bye-elections</b>	81		Independents and other parties	10
Total					41

7	Gained by Congress from :	P. S. P.	8
		Communists	5
		Jan Sangh	2
		Hindu Mahasabha	4
		R. R. P.	3
		Independents	20
		Janta (Bihar)	3
		Akali (Punjab)	1
		Forward Bloc (Punjab)	1
			47

**Net gain 6.**



## APPENDIX III

## VOTING ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTION RESULTS FOR LOK SABHA

(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)

Serial Number and State	Number of bye-elec- tions held	BYE-ELECTIONS				GENERAL ELECTIONS			
		Votes Polled by		Total Votes	Polled	Votes Polled by		Total Votes	Polled
		Congress	Opposition			Congress	Opposition		
1. Assam	1	61,127	63,839	1,24,966	78,736	90,279	78,736	1,69,015	1,69,015
2. Bihar	4	93,036	3,33,075	4,26,111	4,59,370	4,83,198	4,59,370	9,42,568	9,42,568
3. Bombay	1	72,808	51,169	1,23,977	1,09,185	1,51,952	1,09,185	2,61,037	2,61,037
4. Madhya Bharat	1	38,846	42,534	81,380	84,774	54,638	84,774	1,39,412	1,39,412
5. Madhya Pradesh	6	4,77,608	4,75,768	9,53,376	7,93,984	8,36,375	7,93,984	16,30,359	16,30,359
6. Madras	5	2,94,764	2,74,940	5,69,704	4,96,125	3,07,656	4,96,125	8,03,781	8,03,781
7. Orissa	1	—	—	—	74,758	89,387	74,758	1,64,145	1,64,145
8. Punjab	1	48,818	18,300	67,118	1,39,021	75,412	1,39,021	2,14,433	2,14,433
9. PEPSU	1	77,672	49,890	1,27,562	1,23,269	57,290	1,23,269	1,80,559	1,80,559
10. Rajasthan	4	1,15,440	1,01,583	2,17,023	3,34,517	2,14,967	3,34,517	5,49,484	5,49,484
11. Travancore-Cochin	1	1,57,006	1,16,747	2,73,753	1,37,584	1,30,245	1,37,584	2,67,829	2,67,829
12. Saurashtra	2	61,255	7,682	68,937	65,930	98,093	65,930	1,64,023	1,64,023
13. Uttar Pradesh	7	2,65,652	3,47,853	6,13,505	3,81,905	4,90,300	3,81,905	8,72,205	8,72,205
14. West Bengal	4	2,23,264	1,52,383	3,75,647	3,16,176	3,39,145	3,16,176	6,45,321	6,45,321
Total :		19,87,296	20,35,763	40,23,059	35,85,234	34,18,937	35,85,234	70,04,171	70,04,171
Percentage		49.4	50.6	100	51.2	48.8	51.2	100	100

## LOK SABHA BYE-ELECTIONS

## (Voting Analysis of Parties other than Congress)

(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)

Serial Number and State	P. S. P. (Bye-Elections)	K. M. P. P. and S. P. (General Elections)	Communists (Bye-Elections)	Congress (General Elections)	Jan Sangh (General Elections)	Independents (Bye-Elections)	Independents (General Elections)	Other Parties (Bye-Elections)	Other Parties (General Elections)
1. Assam	1	7,620	47,120	39,816	..	16,403	31,616	..	..
2. Bihar	4	2,42,360	2,83,958	..	..	20,835	27,575	69,880	1,47,837
3. Bombay	1	51,169	1,09,085	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Madhya Bharat	1	..	..	11,216	42,534	70,343	3,215	..	..
5. Madhya Pradesh	6	2,61,120	2,23,070	..	..	23,661	1,34,246	1,90,987	2,97,781
6. Madras	5	1,26,561	23,636	51,138	..	28,113	3,64,691	69,128	1,07,798
7. Orissa	1	..	35,182	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Punjab	1	..	..	..	..	12,672	18,300	..	55,245
9. PEPSU	1	..	..	..	..	49,890	1,23,269	..	..
10. Rajasthan	4	5,316	4,124	..	..	96,267	2,57,797	..	56,164
11. Saurashtra	2	..	11,679	..	7,682	..	30,650	..	23,601
12. Travancore-Cochin	1	..	..	14,574	..	1,16,747	79,895	..	43,115
13. Uttar Pradesh	7	1,78,268	1,63,976	31,019	33,986	15,417	70,696	89,163	7,064
14. West Bengal	4	40,125	77,424	85,666	32,168	15,746	1,28,182	5,415	3,376
Total	39	9,12,539	9,79,254	2,07,639	1,34,043	89,633	13,22,936	4,24,573	7,41,981
Percentage		22.6	14.0	5.2	1.9	2.2	18.9	10.6	10.6

# APPENDIX IV

## VOTING ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTION RESULTS

(STATE ASSEMBLIES)

(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)

Serial Number & State	Number of (Bye-elections) held	Bye-Elections			General Elections		
		Votes Polled by Congress	Votes polled by Opposition	Total Votes Polled	Votes polled by Congress	Votes polled by Opposition	Total votes Polled
1. Ajmer	5	6,999	12,761	19,760	13,745	14,498	28,243
2. Andhra	2	22,834	15,218	38,052	63,390	31,518	94,908
3. Assam	8	40,632	57,850	98,482	39,999	1,21,158	1,61,157
4. Bihar	13	1,35,425	1,09,437	2,44,862	1,16,293	1,63,943	2,80,236
5. Bombay	13	2,06,766	2,16,502	4,23,268	2,69,961	2,94,591	5,64,552
6. Delhi	7	36,196	49,098	85,294	45,178	36,411	81,589
7. Hyderabad	11	1,34,415	1,44,738	2,79,153	1,27,076	1,99,402	3,26,478
8. Himachal Pradesh	4	11,824	16,899	28,723	12,426	25,648	38,074
9. Madhya Bharat	9	86,102	95,376	1,81,471	79,356	1,01,921	1,81,284
10. Madhya Pradesh	16	1,55,464	1,22,244	2,77,708	2,34,611	2,72,434	5,07,045
11. Madras	23	3,99,911	4,02,346	8,02,257	3,30,111	7,76,287	11,06,398
12. Mysore	5	64,249	49,967	1,14,216	68,303	78,650	1,46,953
13. Orissa	11	1,31,532	1,45,003	2,76,535	1,08,909	1,85,437	2,94,346
14. PEPSU	2	24,753	24,258	49,011	18,289	26,464	44,753
15. Punjab	16	3,11,441	3,34,559	6,46,000	2,47,841	4,50,109	6,97,950
16. Rajasthan	15	1,07,859	1,20,564	2,28,423	82,902	1,54,851	2,37,753
17. Saurashtra	7	54,627	26,391	81,018	51,041	41,260	92,301
18. Travancore-Cochin	1	15,677	12,622	28,299	14,956	12,463	27,419
19. Uttar Pradesh	19	2,97,828	3,90,774	6,88,602	3,08,916	4,29,489	7,38,405
20. Vindhya Pradesh	13	62,049	69,654	1,31,703	70,626	92,393	1,63,019
21. West Bengal	14	1,61,177	1,59,308	3,20,485	1,62,739	2,23,481	3,86,220
Total	214	24,67,760	25,75,569	50,43,329	24,66,668	37,32,415	61,99,083
Percentage	...	48.9	51.1	100	39.8	60.2	100

# **APPENDIX IV A** **STATE ASSEMBLIES BYE-ELECTIONS** **(Voting Analysis of Parties other than Congress)** **(Since last General Elections upto December 31, 1955)**

Serial Number and State	Number of Elections held	P.S.P (Bye-Elections)	K.M.P.P. And S.P. (General Elections)	Com- munist (Bye-Elections)	Jan Sangh (General Elections)	HM & RRP (Bye-Elections)	Inde- pendent (Bye-Elections)	Inde- pendent (General Elections)	Other Parties including Regional Parties (Bye-Elections)	Other Parties including Regional Parties (General Elections)
1. Ajmer	5	310	...	...	7,177	7,593	5,274	6,905	...	...
2. Andhra	2	...	...	30,386	...	...	15,218	1,132	...	...
3. Assam	8	30,435	41,262	11,822	...	1,226	5,960	58,952	9,633	10,795
4. Bihar	13	64,444	46,871	15,650	...	5,152	19,442	66,896	9,901	45,024
5. Bombay	13	34,462	95,564	11,841	31,153	6,301	30,656	66,128	1,33,242	85,723
6. Delhi	7	685	446	4,505	...	42,863	929	10,353	116	...
7. Hyderabad	11	13,879	2,677	1,21,544	1,16,580	...	5,562	73,659	3,813	4,905
8. Himachal Pradesh	4	5,851	624	...	...	1,581	5,842	21,497	5,206	3,092
9. Madhya Bharat	9	18,744	8,627	1,951	76,632	66,200	...	25,150	...	...
10. Madhya Pradesh	16	92,915	82,156	2,425	240	29,938	26,904	1,43,169	...	16,931
11. Madras	23	58,534	3,15,196	1,34,971	59,511	...	1,35,298	2,95,230	73,543	1,06,350
12. Mysore	5	31,436	33,886	3,184	...	...	15,347	44,764	...	...
13. Orissa	11	50,830	27,888	20,159	14,579	...	33,382	1,16,009	40,632	26,961
14. PEPSU	2	...	...	15,383	7,686	...	8,875	3,547	...	15,231
15. Punjab	16	43,049	56,452	83,998	57,306	34,253	74,102	85,044	1,24,611	2,17,054
16. Rajasthan	15	23,342	13,632	8,006	4,475	45,499	34,451	96,941	9,266	4,493
17. Saurashtra	7	4,889	5,455	...	...	4,219	16,158	15,417	267	16,169
18. Travancore-Cochin	1	...	...	12,622	12,463	...	...	...	...	...
19. Uttar Pradesh	19	2,41,105	1,80,474	17,293	9,105	30,814	99,730	1,21,595	1,832	23,727
20. Vindhya Pradesh	13	40,303	50,230	...	...	24,411	1,485	12,672	1,213	5,080
21. West Bengal	14	32,397	74,041	67,759	45,648	13,910	37,124	72,809	14,621	17,073
Total	214	78,610	10,35,481	5,31,162	4,00,006	2,57,222	5,71,679	13,27,869	4,27,896	5,98,608
Percentage		15.6	16.8	10.5	6.4	5.1	11.4	21.4	8.5	9.6

## BHOODAN YAGNA

**I**N the years since it was born in the tense atmosphere of Telengana, Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan movement has achieved much, apart from its physical objective, in blazing the trail of a new approach to the programme of land re-distribution. Simultaneously with land reform legislations passed by the State Governments, Bhoodan is wending its humanizing way in and out of the innumerable villages of India, blessing beneficiaries and donors alike. At the Open Session at Avadi, the Congress declared its support to Bhoodan and passed a resolution to that effect. Congressmen have since then increasingly participated in the movement.

In a circular letter dated April 5, 1955, addressed to the Pradesh and District Congress Committees, the Congress President emphasised that 'Bhoodan' and 'Sampattidan' ideals represented the nation's urge to eliminate unemployment and establish an order based on social justice. He appealed to all Congressmen to throw themselves body and soul into the noble and sacred task of Bhoodan and give their utmost support to the movement.

In a circular letter dated June 23, 1955, addressed to the Pradesh Congress Committees, Shri Shriman Narayan, AICC General Secretary, wrote : "I had suggested in my previous letter that each Pradesh Congress Committee should try to fix a definite quota for Bhoodan collection in its area. The Open Session of the Congress and the AICC have given their fullest support to this movement on more than one occasion. At Berhampore, Acharya Vinobaji himself attended the AICC Session and made an appeal to Congressmen to take up this work in right earnest. It is, therefore,

necessary that each PCC Executive discusses the subject seriously and with a sense of urgency and tries to take upon itself a definite quota for the collection and distribution of Bhoodan lands in the respective areas. I hope you will agree with me that such a step is necessary even in the interest of our own Organisation. Bhoodan work will not only gear up the Congress Organisation and its workers but will also enable us to retain initiative in a noble and important work like Bhoodan."

'Bhoodan Kranti - Week' was observed all over India from April 13 to 18, 1955, in which Congress workers undertook walking tours and collected land and other gifts.

At its meeting held at Onda, District Malda, on January 9, 1955, the Executive of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee unanimously resolved that the Congress Committees and Congress workers of the State would specially devote themselves to Bhoodan work for the next six months, and by widely propagating the ideals of Bhoodan they will earnestly try to make the movement a success. Accordingly, the President of the PCC made extensive tours and laid special stress on Bhoodan activity. The West Bengal PCC organised several study circles for Bhoodan workers, and many workers toured on foot during the 'Bhoodan Kranti Week' in different places. The Congress Committees in the Punjab actively participated in the Bhoodan Week. Padayatra was carried out by the Congress workers in Naraingarh, Kakodar and Nurmahal. Thana Congress Committees in Bilga, Goraya, Phillaur and other places organised Bhoodan work and about 20 acres of land were received, literature on Bhoodan was sold and Sampattidan collected.

The Madhya Pradesh Bhoodan Yagna Samiti has so far collected more than 85,000 acres, out of which 50,000 acres have been distributed. The Orissa Bhoodan Committee has obtained land donations from 42,000 donors

aggregating to 1,22,000 acres against the target of 5 lakh acres. A special feature of the Orissa Bhoodan campaign was 'Gramdan'. Till the end of December, 1955, about 800 whole villages were received as donations. In June, 1955 the Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee decided to collect 20 lakh acres and steps were taken to achieve the target.

Rajasthan has donated 3,70,138 acres of land for Bhoodan by the end of December, 1955. The target of two lakh acres fixed for the State was attained even earlier than April, 1954, the date fixed for this purpose. Land to the extent of 16,234 acres was distributed up to the end of December, 1955. A sum of Rs. 3,000/- was received in Sampattidan and some villages in Gramdan. The Rajasthan PCC has now decided to collect 40 lakh acres of land and has set up a Pradesh Bhoodan Samiti. At the district level also Bhoodan Samitis have been constituted.

Delhi's initial target of 10,000 acres has nearly been attained, while Bihar, Hyderabad and other States are well on the way to reaching their targets.

The Bhoodan movement is gradually assuming the proportions of a phenomenal national movement and Congressmen's contribution towards its success has been considerable.

## REORGANISATION OF STATES

ON December 29, 1953 the Government of India decided to appoint a Commission to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the question of reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union "so that the welfare of the people of each constituent Unit as well as the nation as a whole is promoted."

The Commission consisted of Shri S. Fazl Ali (Chairman), Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru and Shri K. M. Panikkar.

The Commission submitted its Report to the Government of India on September 30, 1955. The Report was released for publication on October 10, 1955. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a broadcast to the nation on the eve of the publication of the Report appealed to the nation to approach the question of the States reorganisation with "dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration."

The Working Committee which met on October 13 and 14, 1955 gave 'careful, though necessarily preliminary' consideration to the S.R.C. Report. In a resolution passed on the subject, the Working Committee said that the Report dealt with vital problems affecting the future of our country and our people raising many issues in regard to which there were marked divergences of opinion. The resolution said that the Committee would give further consideration to the problems raised in the Report and would, meanwhile, give opportunities for full consultation, so that the final decisions arrived at should represent the general consensus of opinion and should 'further the great cause of India's unity and progress.' The Working



Committee expressed the hope that, while the fullest consideration should be given to the Report and its recommendations and allied problems, the approach would be made in a spirit of co-operation and without the introduction of acrimony and conflict. To introduce a spirit of disunion and conflict was, in the opinion of the Committee, not only to hamper the general progress but also to weaken the very foundations on which our national strength and progress depended. The Committee appealed to Congressmen, particularly those holding responsible positions, whether in the Government, Legislatures or in the Organisation, to function with dignity and avoid taking any step which might further the spirit of disunity.

A meeting of the Presidents of the PCCs was held on November 7, 1955 in the AICC Office to discuss the Report. Shri U. N. Dhebar presided. The Congress President, in his opening remarks, informed the members that in terms of the resolution on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission adopted by the Working Committee at its meeting held on October 13 and 14, 1955, the leaders of the various Pradeshes had met him and also had talks with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. A conference of the Chief Ministers was also held on October 22 and 23, 1955. He pointed out that since the reactions of the people to the States Reorganisation Commission's Report had been more or less known, the Working Committee was expected to give a positive lead to Congressmen. It was one of the most important experiments in re-drawing the map of a big country. The Presidents of the PCCs had been requested to meet and evolve a common measure of agreement.

The PCC Chiefs were then invited to express their view-points. All the PCC Presidents present discussed the Commission's Report in general and also with specific

reference to their own Pradeshes. A large number of PCCs had adopted resolutions bearing on the recommendations to which reference was made.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant then addressed the meeting.

Shri Nehru was of opinion that it would be fatal to the interests of the country to lay special emphasis only on one aspect of the problem, namely, language. No doubt language had its own importance, but if it fostered a spirit of separatism, it became dangerous. Referring to the S.R.C. Report, Shri Nehru said that under the circumstances, the Report had to be generally accepted with minor adjustments except in cases where alternate courses be favoured by a large measure of agreement.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant said that demarcation of the States was not an end in itself. It was only a means to an end, the real and basic objective being the unity and prosperity of the nation. Things had to be viewed in a correct perspective and the unity and prosperity of the country had to be the over-riding consideration. Referring to the Fourth Part of the Commission's Report dealing with safeguards for linguistic minorities, he observed that it had not been properly considered. If adequate safeguards as proposed in the Report were provided, many of the problems being raised could be satisfactorily solved. Narrow-mindedness in respect of language, community or religion could be detrimental to India's unity and solidarity.

In his concluding remarks, the Congress President emphasised that once a decision was taken by the Working Committee, it was for the PCCs to take the lead in explaining its implications to the people and persuade them to work it out in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation. In the interests of the unity, solidarity and prosperity of the nation, Congressmen had to work hard and with determination. Since the PCCs happened to be important links in the orga-

nisational chain, the Presidents of the PCCs had a special responsibility to discharge.

After the meeting of the Working Committee held on October 13 and 14, 1955, full and detailed consideration was given to the recommendations of the S. R. C. The Congress President and other members of the Working Committee met a large number of deputations and conferred with their colleagues in the different parts of the country. They also considered the opinions expressed by various organisations, individuals and the Press. The Chief Ministers of the States as well as the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees also met and had an opportunity of expressing their views.

The Working Committee met again on November 8 and 9, 1955. Having considered in detail the recommendations of the Commission, the Working Committee were of opinion that, broadly speaking, the Commission's recommendations should be generally accepted, except in cases where it was possible to find alternate solutions which receive a more general agreement or in certain cases of adjustment of boundaries.

The Committee came to final decisions in regard to certain matters. In respect of certain other matters, they also came to tentative decisions to be finalised later on. There was a third category of subjects which were referred to a Sub-Committee for final decisions. This Sub-Committee consisted of Shri U. N. Dhebar, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.

The Sub-Committee met and discussed various proposals with the representatives of all the States concerned and endeavoured to find a way of agreement. In a number of cases agreement was reached and the proposals of the Commission were accepted with minor variations.

The Committee were, above all, anxious that the unity and solidarity of India should be maintained and furthered, and they noted with deep regret that disruptive forces were at work in the name of linguistic States but often with other aims in view. They tried to check them and to emphasise that primary importance should be attached to the solidarity of India as a whole and not to administrative divisions. Unfortunately, disruptive elements, taking advantage of the people's love of their language, misled many people.

The Committee paid particular attention to the future of the State of Bombay. In their desire to arrive at an agreed solution of this problem, they had numerous consultations with their colleagues from the various parts of Bombay State, and as a result, certain proposals were put forward from time to time. Each one of these proposals appeared to have been accepted at the time but was later rejected. Finally, again in consultation with the people concerned, the decision in regard to the Bombay State was announced, together with other decisions.

In spite of the efforts of the Committee, serious disturbances took place in Bombay City resulting in vast damage to person and property. Bombay and India were disgraced and dishonoured. In some other parts of India also deplorable occurrences, though on a lesser scale, took place.

The Working Committee met on January 22 and 23 and considered the situation prevailing in the country. The Committee felt that the recent occurrences had produced a situation which imperilled the future of India and her people. The ideals for which India stood had been repudiated and trampled under foot not only by the miscreants who indulged in the orgy of violence but also by those who gave them direct or indirect support.

The Committee were firmly of opinion that there could be no surrender to violence and methods of terrorism and that they had to be met with all the forces of the State in order to protect innocent citizens and the well-being of the nation. The Committee emphatically declared that no changes would be made in the decisions already arrived at or that might be taken later in regard to the reorganisation of the States because of violence or terrorist methods.

The Committee felt that the recent events had demonstrated the grave danger of encouraging any tendencies which promoted disruption, separatism and provincialism, and it had become the urgent and primary task of the nation to curb these tendencies and to give a new direction to people's thinking. The whole question of reorganisation of the States must, therefore, be viewed from that positive point of view so that it might lead to the promotion of Indian unity.

The Working Committee called upon the nation and, in particular, every Congressman to put forth every effort to meet the challenge of the grave situation and not to allow any difference of opinion over relatively minor matters to come in the way of that larger effort. For every Congressmen it was essential to work for the unity and discipline of the Congress which had been the strongest force in India in bringing about the integration of all the parts of this great country. To weaken that force was to weaken India at a moment when broad horizons were opening out for her to progress.

The Committee emphasised that it was the duty of every Pradesh Congress Committee as well as all other Congress Committees to preserve the discipline of the Congress and to adhere to the ideals of the Congress even though that might lead for the moment to unpopularity. It had been the policy of the Congress not only to have the

right objective but always to remember that right means had to be adopted. At a time of crisis and difficulty it was all the more important for those basic facts to be remembered and not weakly to surrender to evil force. The Congress had been the historic agent for achieving India's freedom and for the realisation of the manifest destiny of the Indian people. Freedom had been achieved, but it was imperilled afresh not by any external force but by our own inner weakness. The Congress was therefore called upon to defend that freedom which had been won at such great cost. The Committee exhorted every Indian, who cherished that freedom, to defend it, keeping the ideals and the high destiny of our country always in view.

West Bengal and Bihar gave a new lead to the rest of India when the Chief Ministers of the two States signed a Joint Statement on January 23, 1956 proposing the merger of these two States into one single State.

Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, issued a Press statement, welcoming the Sinha-Roy declaration and expressing his hope that the great lead given by the two Chief Ministers "will be accepted by the people of the two States and will wake up others also to the realities of the situation today."

## ORGANISATIONAL AFFAIRS

**T**HERE have been eight meetings of the Working Committee, and two meetings of the All India Congress Committee, during the year.

### **1. Merger of the K. L. P. :**

Three parties in Andhra, namely, the Congress, the Andhra Praja Party and the K. L. P., united to work on a common platform during the General Elections in Andhra held in early 1955. It was indeed a unique political event that almost all the democratic forces in the State agreed to come together and gave a combined fight to the Opposition. It immensely raised the public morale in Andhra.

The people of Andhra expressed their sincere urge for a united leadership for safeguarding and protecting their democratic way of life by whole-heartedly responding to the call of the United Front and enabling the Front to command a thumping majority in the new Andhra Legislative Assembly.

The General Council of the K.L.P. which met on March 1, 1955 appreciated the strength and significance of the people's message and decided to achieve unity with the Congress. Later, steps were taken to bring about this unity both in the Legislature and outside in Andhra and elsewhere, and accordingly, members of the K. L. P. were advised to join the Congress. Prof. N. G. Ranga, leader of the Bharat Krishikar Lok Party, played a very great part in bringing about this unity.

### **2. Merger of the All-India Forward Bloc :**

General Mohan Singh, President of the All-India Forward Bloc, expressed a desire that the members of the

Forward Bloc wanted to join the Congress. This question was considered informally by the Congress Working Committee and it was decided that if the members of the Forward Bloc wanted to join the Congress, they would be welcome.

The All-India Forward Bloc met, considered this question and advised their members to sign the Congress Pledge. Appreciating the move, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, Secretary General of the Bloc: "All of you are welcome to the Congress and I hope we shall work in co-operation for the furtherance of the ideals and objectives we have."

The Pradesh Congress Committees were requested to advise their DCCs and other subordinate Congress Committees to enrol members of the Forward Bloc as members of the Congress.

Under the the Congress Constitution, the members of the Forward Bloc joining the Congress could not take part in the Congress elections unless they were members for two consecutive years. There were, however, a number of experienced workers in the Forward Bloc and it was felt desirable that some of them be associated with the Congress Committees in some manner even if they could not get duly elected. Suggestions were made to the PCCs in that regard.

The Congress Working Committee at their meeting on July 23, 1955, considered the request from the members of the Forward Bloc and the K.L.P. for exemption from the operation of Article 7 of the Congress Constitution regarding Congress elections and seeking permission to contest Congress elections straightaway. The Committee authorised the Congress President to consider individual requests in suitable cases.



### **Tours of the President and General Secretaries**

**S**PEAKING to a press reporter at Madras on January 17, 1955, the Congress President said that in the present context of the evolution of the Indian people, it was essential that there should be some one who would objectively assess the situation that obtained in the country and interpret it to the Congress Governments both at the Centre and in the States.

According to him, both the Government and the people were looking at the various pressing problems facing the country more or less in a 'subjective' way, each according to their own manner of approach, and it was, therefore, necessary that between these two there should be a third party who would objectively study the situation to assess the problems. It was his ambition, the President said, to supply this need, because as the Head of the National Organisation, namely, the Congress—which, he asserted, was no mere political party—he felt it was his duty to endeavour on these lines. He thought that for this purpose he should be a kind of touring President.

The Congress President has indeed proved to be a 'touring President'. He has covered the whole length and breadth of India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and Assam to Bombay. During the 12-month period, under review, he has covered as many as 18 Pradeshes mentioned below :

(1) Ajmer, (2) Andhra, (3) Assam. (4) Bihar, (5) Bombay, (6) Madhya Bharat, (7) Mahakoshal, (8) Maharashtra, (9) Malayala, (10) Mysore, (11) Nagpur, (12) Orissa, (13) Punjab, (14) Rajasthan, (15) Travancore-Cochin, (16) Uttar Pradesh, (17) Vidarbha, and (18) West Bengal.

During his tours, he has met the Congress leaders in these Pradeshes and has paid special attention to the work and programme of Seva Dal, Women, Youth and Construc-

tive Work Departments. The people in these Pradeshes have had the opportunity of coming in close contact with the Congress President and this has inspired a sense of confidence in Congress workers that they are being given a hearing by the Head of the Congress Organisation.

The General Secretaries have also been touring widely. During the period, they have covered all the 26 Pradeshes, and have paid special attention to the working of the Pradesh Congress Committee offices and the organisation of various departments under the PCCs.

### **Appointment of AICC Representatives**

**T**HE All India Congress Committee considered the report of the Standing Committee for Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation at their meeting at Berhampore. The AICC accepted the recommendation of the Committee that Zonal Representatives from the AICC should go round various Pradeshes regularly to find out how far the rules and instructions of the Working Committee are being complied with, and particularly to make sample scrutiny of primary and Active members.

The country has been divided into six Zones for the purpose, and each Zone has a Representative. The Representatives are :

1. Shri Sumangal Prakash : Central Zone (1)
2. „ Jagatpal Singh : Central Zone (2)
3. „ Mahesh Saran : North Zone
4. „ Prakashchand Sethi : West Zone
5. „ A. T. Dandavate : East Zone
6. „ K. K. Chellappan Pillai : South Zone

The idea of appointing these Zonal Representatives is to establish a close liaison between the AICC and the PCCs.

These Zonal Representatives try to help the Pradesh Congress Committees in organising Congress work in the various districts. They try to understand their difficulties and assist in solving them. They are to work in co-operation with the PCCs and draw up their programme in consultation with them. Duties assigned to these Representatives, among others, are :

- (i) To check up membership, enrolment and renewal ;
- (ii) To check up the work of the Scrutiny Committees with reference to the constructive work done by the Active members ,
- (iii) To see that Congress membership fees are properly distributed by the PCCs ;
- (iv) To see whether funds collected and spent by the Congress Committees and Congressmen individually are properly accounted for ;
- (v) To see that registers and records are properly maintained ; and
- (vi) To keep close liaison between the PCCs and the AICC.

The six AICC Representatives met in the AICC Office on September 6, 1955. Shri Shriman Narayan was present.

The Representatives gave short accounts of their experiences in the different areas and raised some questions for clarification and advice from the General Secretary.

A meeting of the Representatives was held again on December 10, 1955. The Congress President and the General Secretaries were present. The Representatives gave brief reviews of their activities in the respective Zones and made certain suggestions in the light of their own experience.

The Congress President pointed out that the work of the Congress should be examined from two distinct angles, (1) Administrative ; and (2) Organisational.

On the administrative side, it has to be seen how the office functions, how far the instructions issued from the AICC and the PCCs are implemented. The system of maintenance of account books and registers has to be examined. The organisational side should deal with (i) enrolment and renewal of members ; (ii) process of elections ; and (iii) functioning of election tribunals. Separate sections dealing with Seva Dal, Youth, Women, Constructive Work, etc. also should be examined.

### **Congress Literature Sub-Committee**

**T**HE Standing Committee appointed by the Working Committee in accordance with the resolution on Purity and Strengthening of the Organisation had recommended the setting up of a Committee for the preparation of necessary literature on the social and economic objectives of the Congress.

Accordingly, a Literature Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Shri Manubhai Shah, Shri Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair and Shri Shriman Narayan (Convener) was appointed.

The Committee met on January 17, 1955 in the AICC Office, Shri U. N. Dhebar presiding, and made the following suggestions :

(1) A book should be published to give the people a fair idea of India ;

(2) A short history of the Congress should be prepared to help the workers to understand the growth and development of the Organisation and the struggle for freedom ;

(3) A short account of the achievements of the great land of India should be published to give a clear concept of the whole nation and the progressive stages by which social and economic reforms have been introduced in the country ; and

(4) A series on the Lives of Great Men of India may be published.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda agreed to write a book on the basis and practical aspects of planning.

The Committee decided that a panel of names of the writers should be prepared so that their services might be utilised for bringing out small booklets of general knowledge to educate the public and social workers.

## **AICC Youth Department**

**T**HE decision made by the Congress at its Avadi Session to work for a Socialistic Pattern of Society has had great influence on Congress youth work as in other spheres of Congress work. This new concept has drawn many thoughtful young people to our work. They have a new inspiration and are showing a new enthusiasm. At the Pradesh Youth Conveners' meeting, which the AICC arranged at the time of the Avadi Session, special attention was given to the new message of the Congress.

The following statement of policy and programme prepared by the AICC and presented at this meeting was specially commended to all Youth Congress workers in the country. Activities developed in the subsequent months in terms of this new programme.

"The building up of a New India is a task of the greatest responsibility even as it is most exciting. Obviously much of this responsibility will soon fall on those who are young today, specially students. Therefore, it is imperative that young people should prepare themselves fully so that when these responsibilities come, they can discharge them ably.

"Clarity of thought is essential for any creative, vital work. India is launched on a programme to achieve a Socialistic Pattern of Society by peaceful and legitimate means. The true meaning and import of this need to be fully understood. And one has to remind oneself specially that the Congress and the Indian Government are wedded to a policy of peace and negotiation and that violence and

coercion can lead to no good result. Youth Congress workers must study deeply, particularly to obtain a fuller understanding of the principles and programme of the Congress as well as the other political and economic ideologies and happenings in India and elsewhere today. They must face boldly all trends towards authoritarianism or communalism in Indian society.

"Personal discipline is of the greatest importance for a person to be effective. Youth Congress workers must develop qualities of good citizenship, character and other human qualities. Physical fitness is of equal importance to which full attention should be given.

"The Congress has repeatedly stressed the importance of constructive work. Youth Congress members have a great responsibility in this, and their attention is specially drawn to the resolution on "Constructive and Developmental Work" passed by the AICC at Ajmer in July, 1954, and endorsed by the Avadi Session of the Congress. In particular, the following constructive activities should be undertaken : (1) Study classes, discussions, debates, etc. ; (2) Youth and student welfare ; (3) Study tours to see the various Development Projects and historical places ; (4) Work Camps (Shramdan), where possible, in co-operation with the Community Project and National Extension Service undertakings ; (5) Bhoodan and Sampattidan ; (6) Relief work ; (7) Welfare of the backward classes ; (8) Inter-religious harmony ; (9) Fostering the spirit of Swadeshi and promotion of the use of cottage industry products ; (10) Propagation of Hindi ; (11) Cultural activities ; and (12) Sports and games.

"The list is only illustrative, and not exhaustive. Many other items of work can be taken up by youth workers to suit the requirements of their areas. The basic point is that youth workers should develop a new social and constructive outlook in all their activities.

"Recently the AICC prepared a model Constitution for Youth Congress in the Pradeshes. It is hoped that this will be found generally suitable and youth work could be organised at all levels, that is, in the Pradesh, District and Taluka, on the lines suggested. The Pradeshes can, no doubt, incorporate necessary changes to suit local conditions."

For obvious reasons, Congress youth work has so far been largely confined to urban areas. It has been our effort in the past year to extend this work to rural areas. The starting of Youth Congress branches in many Mandals and Talukas has helped much in fulfilling this purpose. Active participation in over 700 youth camps offered a real opportunity to young men and women from all walks of life to do something collectively for the community. These camps were held between the months of April and December under the auspices of the Bharat Sevak Samaj and some educational institutions and certain social service organisations. Such non-political organisations alone are entitled to receive the necessary funds from the Planning Commission provided for this purpose in the First Five-Year Plan. The Youth Congress and Seva Dal fully co-operated with them in arranging the camps and took special steps to enlist young people. Work at the camps generally included laying of roads, building school-houses, digging canals or soak-pits, social education, discussion meetings and cultural programmes. These camps represented a national effort in mobilising the energies of youth for nation-building purposes. We spent much of our time and energy fruitfully on this work. Active participation in such youth camps is now an important and regular feature of Congress youth work.

That the AICC attaches very great importance to its youth work was reflected in the fact that the question of its organisation was brought before the meetings of the PCC Presidents and Secretaries in Delhi in March and



September and also before the meeting of a Sub-Committee of the AICC in September. Problems of Congress youth work were discussed, when great stress was laid on the importance of the PCCs taking special initiative in organising the work in their areas.

In the course of their tours in the various parts of the country, the Congress President and the General Secretaries addressed many conferences and meetings, organised by the Pradesh and District Youth Congresses. The AICC Youth Organiser toured the following Pradeshes and assisted in organising Congress youth work : Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Mahakoshal, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal.

The Youth Advisory Committee of the AICC was reorganised in May, with the following as members : Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Shri Abid Ali, Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Shri Satish Chandra, Shri Jainarain Vyas and Shri Ramkrishna Bajaj. The Committee met three times. The National Council of Youth Congress also had its first meeting in September. Matters concerning youth work and the pattern of its organisation were considered. On the recommendations of the Advisory Committee and the National Council, the AICC took a number of steps in this regard. Considerable ground-work has been done in respect of the organisation of youth work, and Youth Congresses or Youth Departments have been started by all the PCCs and a number of DCCs. The need was now specially felt for training adequate number of young people who could undertake the responsibility to organise youth work in various parts of the country and arrange specific projects of work.

With this end in view, the AICC organised a one-week Youth Training Camp in September in Delhi. It was attended by 50 youth representatives from 20 Pradeshes,

including the Pradesh Youth Congress Secretaries. The Congress youth work was examined in all its aspects. It was found that a good foundation had been laid, and in many places excellent work was done. Nevertheless, the problems that faced us were fairly formidable. Our work has a general, wide appeal, but we have to find a larger number of truly devoted young men who would work with sustained interest. We have to attract more of the best types of young men and train them properly. Any disunity among the Youth Congress workers or between them and the PCCs need to be removed, and Youth Congress work has to be extended to all parts of India.

All these which naturally threw a challenge to those in charge of Congress youth work, gave a special urgency to the work of the camp. On the one hand, the camp members had the benefit of hearing a number of our senior leaders on matters that were vital to the young people and our youth work; and on the other, the camp, dividing itself into three sub-committees, got down seriously to consider what was really needed to be done to remove the shortcomings and to strengthen the Congress youth work in terms of organisation, co-operation between Youth Congress and other organisations, and the programme of work. The AICC accepted the reports submitted by these sub-committees and, with slight modification, commended them, especially the comprehensive programme, to the PCCs and Pradesh Youth Congresses.

It has been recommended that the programmes should be broad-based and varied so as to attract as large a section of young people as possible, young people of varying backgrounds and needs. The Youth Congress work should be extended to rural areas and branches opened at the District, Mandal and Tehsil levels. Youth centres should be started as widely as possible. Special attention should be given to improve the quality of workers who should

develop discipline, character and qualities of good citizenship and of democracy and team-spirit. Special methods, including the use of newspaper columns, have been suggested for publicising Congress youth programme. Particular emphasis has been laid on the preparation of suitable literature and on the youth workers studying them carefully. Activities recommended include study classes, debates, seminars, youth camps, local development works, cultural and recreational programmes, libraries and reading rooms, study tours, youth festivals, youth welfare, adult education, vocational guidance, exchange visits by city and rural youth, student union activities, observation of Youth Days, Shramdan Days, National Days, Constructive Work, international youth programmes, etc.

The AICC has recommended that the PCCs should organise similar youth camps to train young people to work in the districts, talukas, etc. Some Pradesh youth camps have already been arranged. It is our hope that in the coming months Youth Congress work will expand rapidly and various projects of work will be undertaken in terms of the recommendations.

The more important activities in the Pradeshes in 1955 included the following: **ANDHRA**—In December, a Youth Congress Conference was held at Guntur. **ASSAM**—A Conference of the Asom Yuwak Congress was held at Tezpur on February 17 and 18, along with the Assam Political Conference. It was inaugurated by the Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar. Another Pradesh Yuwak Congress Conference was held at Nowgong in July which was inaugurated by Shri Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress. **DELHI**—A 14-man students Goodwill Mission, under the auspices of Youth Congress, visited Lahore and Gujranwala in June at the invitation of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. **GUJARAT**—The Gujarat Youth Congress arranged in May for a party

of 456 young people, including 60 women, to undertake a three-week study tour, in a special train, of certain parts of India. In the course of the tour they saw a number of national developmental undertakings, including the Bhakra Nangal Dam, DVC, Hirakud, Chittaranjan, Sindri, 3 National Laboratories, production centres like Tatanagar, and historical and cultural places like Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Calcutta, Poona, Ajanta and Shantiniketan. In December, the Pradesh Youth Congress Second Annual Conference was held in Rajkot which was inaugurated by the Bombay Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, and presided over by Shri Rasiklal Parikh, Chief Minister of Saurashtra.

**MADHYA BHARAT**—Branches of Youth Congress have been opened in Ujjain, Indore, Bhopal, Shivpuri, Bhind, Guna, Shujalpur, Narsinghpur and Shajapur. A District Youth Congress workers' conference was held in Gwalior in May.

**MAHARASHTRA**—A Youth Seminar was held in June, and among those who addressed the Seminar were Shri Shriman Narayan, Shri T. R. Deogirikar and Shri N. V. Gadgil. A Vocational Information Centre has been opened to furnish young people with information regarding scholarships, educational opportunities, etc. On December 3, the East Khandesh Youth Congress First Conference was held at Jalgaon, which was inaugurated by Dr. B.V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, and presided over by Shri Y. B. Chavan, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bombay State. Nearly 500 delegates from all the Talukas of the District attended it.

**MALAYALA**—A Pradesh Youth Congress Conference was held at Mahe in May. In December, another Conference under the auspices of the Youth Congress was held at Ottapalam which was inaugurated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

**MYSORE**—A Youth Congress Convention\* was held at Bangalore on October 30. Shri U. N. Dhebar addressed the youth workers.

**PUNJAB**—The Annual Youth Congress Conference was held at

Ludhiana in March. At the invitation of the Kashmir Government, a Youth Congress Goodwill Mission from Punjab visited Kashmir in July. A Youth Rally took place at Amritsar on November 11, and it was addressed by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Shriman Narayan.

**RAJASTHAN**—In December, a one-week Pradesh Youth Training Camp was arranged. It was inaugurated by the State Chief Minister, Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia. Among those who addressed the camp members were Dr. B. V. Keskar, Shri K. C. Reddy, Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, Shri J. K. Bhonsle and the PCC President, Master Adityendra.

**UTTAR PRADESH**—Two 4-day youth camps were arranged at Lucknow and Allahabad in July. Over 100 young people attended, mostly students. Shri Shriman Narayan addressed both the camps.

**WEST BENGAL**—A Pradesh Students Conference was held in Maldah in April, along with the Pradesh Congress Conference. It was attended by about 2,000 students and other young people including 150 delegates from all districts. Shri U. N. Dhebar and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri were among those who addressed the Conference.

### **Congress Seva Dal**

**T**HE Annual Camp of Pradesh Officers of Seva Dal took place in Delhi in November, 1954. The officers reviewed the year's work and discussed the programme for 1955. The programme as decided in the Camp was as follows :

(1) Kendra activity (conducting daily centres for boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 18) ;

(2) Project work (undertaking project works of local importance and co-operation and help in Shrām-Shibirs

conducted by the B. S. S. Youth Department, N. E. S., C. P. A., etc.).

Other items of contact and service were :

- (a) Conducting classes in National Anthem and National Songs for students as well as for the public ;
- (b) Conducting coaching classes for students (especially those attending Seva Dal Kendras) ;
- (c) Tours and excursions (as far as possible, on foot and on cycle) ;
- (d) Holding rallies and sports competitions ; and
- (e) Routine work and training camps as usual.

Among the items given above, project work was given top priority and was undertaken by Seva Dal members in Assam, including Manipur State, Utkal, U.P., PEPSU, Nagpur, Madhya Bharat, Gujarat, Bombay, Bihar, Hyderabad, West Bengal and Mysore. The work completed was of various types. Seva Dal desired to conduct Shram-Shibirs in the name of Congress Seva Dal throughout the country, but this was not found practicable as the Government offered aid, for such purposes, through the B.S.S. only. Some camps of the B.S.S. were conducted and organised by the officers of Seva Dal, while in others Seva Dal volunteers joined and worked in co-operation with the B.S.S. Workers of Seva Dal conducted a number of classes in National Anthem. In Hyderabad and Bombay (especially Maharashtra and Gujarat) States, such classes were conducted for teachers of Municipal and District Board Schools. Attempts were made to give an attractive tune to the 'Vande Mataram'. The Government of India was also approached for bringing about uniformity in Flag Salutation procedure in public functions, and some success has been achieved in this direction.\*

Volunteers of Seva Dal had undertaken all-India cycle tours, and one of them, Shri Dayabhai Patel of Gujarat is

now out of India and is visiting our neighbouring countries on cycle. Coaching classes, spinning classes, students' hostels, sport and rallies have been conducted as usual.

During the unprecedented floods in Assam, Utkal, West Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Punjab, Delhi and PEPSU, Seva Dal units rose to the occasion, rendering valuable service in arranging prompt relief work. Some volunteers are still working in the affected areas, especially in Assam, Utkal and West Bengal. A detailed report of this work has been published in *Dal Samachar* as well as in the *AICC Economic Review*.

In the first meeting (March, 1955) of the Pradesh Congress Presidents and Secretaries held in Delhi, the Congress President declared that with a view to making Congressmen take more and more interest in Seva Dal activities, at least one per cent of the present Congress members should join Seva Dal and become volunteers, by the end of the year. In the second meeting held in September, 1955, the Congress President made it very clear that no volunteer organisation other than Congress Seva Dal should be made use of by Congress Committees in their programmes and functions. This has created a favourable atmosphere and enthusiasm among Seva Dal workers. Seva Dal Department requested the PCCs to utilise the services of Seva Dal in conducting Congress workers' camps.

With a view to popularising Hindi words of Commands, a book on Drill in Hindi and English was published by Seva Dal. All State Governments were requested to introduce these words of commands and system of drill in institutions under their jurisdiction. The Defence and Home Ministries were also approached for the purpose. The States of U.P., Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad and Mysore have complied with the request.

Out of 26 Pradeshes, Seva Dal was active (on Pradesh basis) in 21 Pradeshes. It has got 769 branches all over the

country, except in Himachal and Karnatak. The total strength on the rolls, as reported, is 68,690. It is quite possible that Seva Dal activities are going on in many more places in the country, but regular reports from the areas are lacking. More attention was given to develop strong organisations in the capital cities of the Pradeshes.

On the training side, manual No. 5 on Training, with revised courses, was brought out this year. The courses are so arranged that in the second and third stage of training, the volunteer could be developed as a prospective worker suitable in any of the four fields—Seva Dal, Constructive Work, the Congress Organisation, Administrative and Parliamentary work. One hundred and eight primary Training classes and 27 Madhyam sainik camps were conducted during the year, 1955. An All India Organisers' Camp for women and an Uch Sainik Camp for men were conducted by this Office at Chandravatiganj and Gwalior respectively. An administrative Training class to impart training to Pradesh officers was conducted in the AICC Office. This was the fourth class of the type. It was attended by officers of Pradesh ranks.

*Aid to Pradeshes:* To encourage Seva Dal activities in the Pradeshes, where, owing to financial difficulties, the PCCs cannot engage whole-time workers to carry on Seva Dal work, the AICC decided to continue the aid which was sanctioned last year. The aid was given in the form of honorarium to workers of Assam, Utkal, PEPSU, Manipur State, Malayala and Nagpur.

*Inspection and tours:* Officers of Seva Dal at the AICC Office visited the Pradeshes of Vindhya, Maharashtra, Punjab, PEPSU, Assam, Utkal, Tamilnad, Madhya Bharat, Vidarbha, West Bengal, U.P., and Nagpur, and inspected the activities and guided the local workers. Instructors were sent to train volunteers and guide the volunteer department of the AICC session at Berhampur and have been



made available to the Congress Session in Amritsar. At the request of the Sikkim State Congress, a worker was sent by this Office to Sikkim for three months to organise and train Seva Dal in the State. Workers were also sent to Andhra, Himachal, PEPSU and Madhya Bharat for election work.

Seva Dal brings out a monthly magazine called *Dal Samachar*. During 1955 some of the publications had to be re-printed because of the constant demand for them. A pamphlet, *New Outlook*, was added to the information series this year.

A scheme of ex-officio associate membership of Seva Dal was taken up this year. According to this scheme, all the office-bearers of the Congress Committee are taken as ex-officio associates of Seva Dal and the Presidents of the Congress Committees as the first volunteers in their respective Pradeshes. The ex-officio associates are expected to put on Seva Dal uniform during functions of Seva Dal and use the badges given to them. The AICC has given badges to All India and Pradesh ex-officio associates, while the Pradeshes are expected to give such badges to the District and Mandal ex-officio associates. Associate membership for those who cannot become regular volunteers of Seva Dal, for one reason or another, has also been recommended to the Pradeshes. Some Pradeshes have already started enrolment of associates in their Pradeshes.

The Annual Camp of 1955 took place in Delhi. A total number of 49 officers representing 20 Pradeshes attended the camp. The campers had the opportunity of having valuable guidance from the Congress President and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Seva Dal became a member of the World Assembly of Youths from the year, 1955.

Thus, Seva Dal is trying to (a) provide an organised, trained and disciplined force to the Congress, (b) recruit

and train workers for the three types of activities, viz., Constructive, Congress Organisational, and Parliamentary, and (c) approach the people through social service and national development activities. It is necessary to emphasise that Seva Dal is a body of voluntary part-time workers who have some free time to devote to public activities, and they want to do the work in a disciplined and organised way strictly on the lines laid down by the Congress. The set-up, discipline and working of Seva Dal had to be conditioned by these factors.

For finance and guidance the Seva Dal entirely depends upon Congressmen and the Congress Committees. The Congress President has repeatedly stressed the importance of Seva Dal for making the Congress Organisation stronger and stronger. It is necessary for every Congress Committee to build up a good Seva Dal unit and spend some energy and money on it as a fruitful investment. It is never possible to create a sound organisation in haste. The volunteers could be recruited easily, and as a matter of fact, they are actually available in large numbers at any time. Seva Dal realises that an organisation is quite different from an association of loose and untrained 'volunteers'.

It is hoped that the year 1956 will be an year of progress for Seva Dal.

### **Women's Department**

**T**HE Women's Department of the AICC started working in November, 1953 and has been able to expand its activities considerably during the two years of its existence, thanks to the willing co-operation of the PCCs.

I. The appeal to the PCCs for more co-operation and active participation in the organisation of the Women's

Department found better response this year. All the PCCs have opened Women's Departments in their offices. In the case of the DCCs, however, the response has not been so encouraging. In fact a majority of them do not appear to have taken any action in the matter.

II. During the Congress Session at Avadi, a meeting of the Conveners of the Women's Department of the PCCs was held under the auspices of the AICC Women's Department in the Subjects Committee Pandal on January 22, 1955.

The Congress President presided, and the General Secretaries were also present.

Shri Balwantrao Mehta made the following suggestions for making the work more effective :

(1) The Pradesh representative should also be included in the Women's Advisory Committee of the AICC ;

(2) Separate funds should be allotted by the PCCs to their respective Women's Departments and special provisions be made in the PCC Budget on that account ;

(3) The local Conveners of the PCC Women's Departments should be afforded necessary opportunity to place before the President or the General Secretaries, as the case may be, during their tour, the difficulties experienced by them (Conveners) so that they may receive proper guidance for their solution ;

(4) Women Organisers should concentrate their activities on specific problems and try to deal with them in all seriousness ;

(5) The local Conveners should maintain constant contacts with the different places by paying regular visits and they should have good co-workers who may look after the work during their absence ; and

(6) The Women's Departments should try to be self-supporting to a certain extent.

The Zonal Organisers in their reports pointed out that :

- (i) Most of the PCCs and DCCs were indifferent and proper co-operation was not forthcoming ;
- (ii) Nomination of women to the AICC should preferably be made in consultation with the Conveners of the Women's Departments ;
- (iii) The Women's Departments should be allowed to collect their own funds and the receipt books be supplied by the AICC, and not by the PCCs concerned ;
- (iv) The practice of collecting funds through the Women's Departments for organisational work of the PCCs should be discouraged.

The Congress President in his address said that the problems affecting the women of India were equally applicable to the different parts of Asia. They were the outcome of poverty, ignorance and backwardness of society. The disease would be cured only through socio-economic freedom for women. The Congress had been taking the necessary initiative in the matter, but in reforming our society, the administrative channel of the Government could help to some extent by way of social legislations.

He further remarked that the AICC would try to urge on the PCCs to take more interest in the activities of the Women's Departments. Some effective steps had to be taken to raise funds and meet the emergent needs.

Shri Dhebar explained to the workers the type of work they should take up.

In conclusion, the Congress President gave an assurance to the workers that so far as the AICC Office was concerned, the importance of the problems facing women would never be lost sight of.

III. A meeting of the Advisory Committee was held in March, 1955 at Delhi. The Congress President, addressing the meeting, pointed out the need for a change in the social structure and welcomed the spirit of missionary zeal evidenced in the Women's Departments. He emphasised that the programme should be sufficiently attractive to make it more effective.

Of the concrete suggestions made by the President, those relating to the starting of destitute homes, training centres for handicrafts, development of professions such as the nursing career, received particular importance and attention.

The decisions taken in the meeting were as follows :

- (a) The programme should include : (i) Prohibition ; (ii) Social hygiene ; (iii) Vocational training centres for primary teachers and home-crafts ; and (iv) Co-operation with other organisations ;
- (b) A seven-day Conference should be called by the Women's Department of the AICC by the end of May, 1955 ;
- (c) Arrangements for training of workers should be made at all levels ;
- (d) Every district should have a Women's Department : and
- (e) Special care should be taken to enlist more women voters, and propaganda should be carried on among women to make them more politically conscious and fully conversant with the mechanism of elections.

IV. In order to bring about better co-ordination between the governmental and non-governmental bodies, the Women's Department of the AICC has been keeping direct contact with the Community Project Administration.

Miss Mukul Mukherjee, Women's Department of the AICC, attended the sixth Regional Seminar organised by the C.P.A. at Agra in April, 1955.

She explained to the delegates in detail the work which the Women's Department of AICC and its counterparts in the PCCs had taken up. All the officers present readily agreed to consult the Women's Department of the Congress and to avail of their co-operation in various fields of constructive activity concerning the C. P. A.

V. A meeting of women workers of Delhi was held in the AICC Office on April 13, 1955. Shri U.N. Dhebar and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair also attended the meeting.

While addressing the workers, the Congress President emphasised that Congressmen should first of all create confidence in the minds of women that it was with a genuine spirit of service that they approached them and not just to enlist their support in elections. The mission of service should be top-most in the minds of workers.

Another point made by the Congress President was that it should be their endeavour to inspire among women the confidence that they would have equal rights to participate in the nation-building activities and that nobody could deny them adequate opportunities for giving expression to their creative faculties so that they could be of real service to the country.

He further emphasised the need for giving necessary training to women workers so that they may be fully equipped to undertake the work efficiently in their respective fields.

Lastly, he said that steps should be taken to secure an earning of 8 to 12 annas daily to each woman in need.

The decisions taken at the meeting were as follows :

- (a) In order to ensure co-ordination and collaboration between the governmental projects and the

Organisation, a separate Liaison Section should be started in the Women's Department of the AICC ;

- (b) An Ambar Charkha Centre should be started in Phatak Habashkhan area, with the help of the Khadi Gram Udyog Board ;
- (c) In order to dispose of the products of the centres, only such stationery as files, waste paper baskets, etc., which are generally required by the Government and other local offices, should be produced and these offices should be approached to buy these materials ;
- (d) Adult education centres should be started for women ;
- (e) A special study should be made of the courses of Nursing and Midwifery provided by the governmental as well as non-governmental organisations ; and
- (f) Co-operative societies should be started so that it might be easy to get grants from the Government to start the home industries centres.

VI. During the AICC session at Berhampur (Orissa), a public meeting for ladies was organised by the Women's Department of the AICC with the help and co-operation of the local PCC, on May 9, 1955. About three thousand ladies attended the meeting.

The Congress President, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Kumari Maniben Patel addressed the meeting. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair was also present.

Another women workers' meeting was also arranged and informal discussions were held with Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Kumari Maniben Patel and representatives of the Women's Departments of the AICC regarding the constitution and programme of the newly formed 'local PCC Women's Department.

The representatives of the AICC Women's Department also met the office-bearers of the Utkal PCC and their Women's Department and explained to them the aims of the Department and how to conduct activities among women.

The In-Charge of AICC Women's Department also addressed Seva Dal camp during the session and urged them to work in co-ordination and co-operation with the local Women's Department. She explained the idea and aims in starting the department.

VII. A seven-day conference of the Conveners of the Women's Departments of PCCs was arranged by the Women's Department of the AICC in Delhi from May 20 to 27, 1955. The PCCs of Ajmer, Andhra, Bihar, Bombay, Delhi, Gujarat, Himachal, Hyderabad, Maharashtra, Mysore, Nagpur, PEPSU, Punjab, Vidarbha and West Bengal sent their delegates to the Conference.

The Conference was addressed by the following :

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri U. N. Dhebar, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri N. Kannungo, Shri S. K. Dey, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Kumari Maniben Patel, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, Shrimati Pushpa Mehta, Shri Shriman Narayan and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair.

In order to give the delegates an all-round knowledge, lectures followed by discussions were arranged on :

Principles and Policies of the Indian National Congress, Socialistic Pattern of Society, Indian Constitution and Laws passed or under consideration concerning women and children, women's movements and societies, social evils and their cure, the Five-Year Plan, Community Projects Administration and Co-operatives.

Besides these lectures and discussions, reports of the activities were placed before the Conference by the Conveners of the Women's Departments of the PCCs.



Special classes for Seva Dal training and spinning were held during this conference. Useful documentary films were shown to the ladies. The delegates were taken to some of the important places in Delhi. They visited Bal Sahayog, the Pusa Agricultural Institute, the National Physical Laboratory and the Match Factory. Ladies were shown some historical and other important places in Delhi, like Qutab Minar, Rajghat and Birla Mandir, etc.

To give some incentive to the delegates to work in the villages and Project areas after returning to their Pradeshes, a tour programme to the Sonapat and Nilokheri Project areas in the Punjab was arranged with the help of the Community Projects Administration. The delegates were also taken to see the Bhakra Dam and Nangal and Ganguwal Projects.

VIII. In order to help the PCC Women's Conveners in organising women in their respective Pradeshes and to guide them properly, it was decided in the Conference that Shrimati Pushpa Mehta should tour all over India on behalf of the Women's Department of the AICC.

Accordingly, her tour programme was chalked out by the AICC Women's Department.

Her first tour was arranged from June 17<sup>\*</sup> to 30, 1955 in which she covered Nagpur, Hyderabad, Andhra and Orissa. The second lap of her tour was arranged from August 17 to 30, 1955. During this tour, she visited Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Ajmer.

These tours proved to be of great help to the Women's Department of the AICC in getting a correct picture of the work being done in the Pradeshes and also to the local Conveners in organising women.

IX. To assist the poor illiterate women in earning their livelihood, the AICC Women's Department helped the Women's Department of the Delhi PCC in starting a work

centre at Kashmeri Gate. The Centre is making very good progress.

X. In order to bring about closer co-ordination between the governmental and non-governmental organisations, the AICC Women's Department sent circular letters to the State Development Commissioners and the PCC Women Conveners requesting them to work in co-operation with each other. The response has been very encouraging.

XI. An appeal for funds, clothes, medicines, etc., was made by Shrimati Indira Gandhi on behalf of the Women's Department of AICC to all the Conveners of the PCC Women's Departments, who were asked to visit each and every house and collect as much as possible for the flood-stricken people.

The response to this appeal was very heartening. All the PCC Women's Departments took up this work in right earnest and made a large collection of clothes, shoes, medicines, utensils, etc. Cash collections were also made.

All these collections were either sent directly to the flood-affected areas or to the AICC Office from where they were sent to the places concerned.

XII. During the AICC session in Delhi in September, 1955 a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the AICC Women's Department was arranged.

The lady members of the AICC also attended the meeting and Shrimati Indira Gandhi presided.

Various problems concerning women were discussed. Shrimati Indira Gandhi emphasised the need for propagating more extensively the Congress aims and ideals among women. She further said that women should be made conversant with the different laws concerning women, now being passed by Parliament.

The meeting was also attended by the Zonal Organisers. They later reported their tour impressions regarding women's activities in the different Pradeshes.

XIII. Shrimati Indira Gandhi undertook a tour on behalf of the Women's Department of the AICC. During the period from September 20 to October 7, 1955 she covered the following Pradeshes :

Nagpur, Maharashtra, Malayala, Travancore-Cochin, and Mangalore.

In the second lap of her tour from October 15 to October 20, she visited Bombay and Karnatak.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's tours have had a very good effect. In almost all the places visited by her, the work among women has started in right earnest and a good deal of enthusiasm has been created among women.

During her tour, she collected considerable amount of money for the Women's Department. A large quantity of clothes and other utilities, meant for the flood victims, were presented to her during the tour.

Some of the main suggestions put forward by Shrimati Indira Gandhi after her tour were :

(a) The Conveners should undertake more touring and contacts with the masses should be developed to a greater extent ;

(b) In order to give employment to the ladies, and help them in earning their livelihood, work centres should be opened in large numbers. The centres should be opened on co-operative basis so that it may become easier to get grants and loans from the Government ; and

(c) Training in Seva Dal should be given to lady workers.

XIV. An Inter-State Regional Seminar convened by the C. P. A. was held at Darjeeling from

September, 27 to 30 1955. Official representatives of the following States attended the Seminar :

West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, U.P. and Hyderabad.

The In-Charge of the AICC Women's Department was also invited to attend the Seminar. At her instance, Shrimati Labanya Probha Dutt was also invited as representative of the Women's Department of the West Bengal PCC.

Outside the Seminar, the In-Charge contacted a number of important representatives, both officials and non-officials, belonging to different States. She discussed with them in detail matters regarding women's work.

During her visit to Darjeeling, she met the women workers of Darjeeling. On her way to Darjeeling she visited the Siliguri Mandal Congress and a note was later put up by her.

The In-Charge also visited some of the collieries in West Bengal and submitted a note on the conditions of the same.

XV. It was decided to start some training centres for women workers to make them conversant with the technique of co-operatives, their organisation and management so as to persuade the people to take to them in large numbers. Necessary materials are being collected from the State Ministries.

XVI. During the period under report, the two Refugee Women Work Centres at Purana Quilla and Rajendra Nagar, which are run under the direct supervision and guidance of the Department, made very good progress. Apart from bearing all the expenses, the work centre at Purana Quilla made a net profit of about Rs. 2,000 during the year.

Recently Kirtan and Bhajan classes have also been started at the Purana Quilla centre.

XVII. The AICC Women's Department keeps constant touch with the PCC Women's Departments through correspondence and personal contact. All the PCC Women's Departments send their monthly reports to this Office.

The different items of work taken up by these departments are as follows :

1. Regular Charkha classes
2. Enrolment work
3. Running of home industries and work centres
4. Flood Relief work
5. Adult Education classes
6. Milk distribution centres
7. Work among Harijans
8. Balmandirs and libraries
9. Election work
10. Women's Savings campaign
11. Destitute Homes
12. Ante-Natal Centres
13. Physical training centres for women being run with the help of Seva Dal
14. Co-operative Centres
15. Work in villages
16. Prohibition work
17. Removal of social evils like casteism, communalism and the purda system

Apart from these, women's meetings are organised regularly by the Women's Departments. Some training camps were also arranged.

### Foreign Relations Department

**T**HE main activities of the Foreign Relations Department include :

(a) Maintenance of contacts with other countries. Literature published by the Congress on various matters concerning India is supplied to different organisations, specially to political parties, and to individuals ;

(b) Contact with Indian Embassies abroad and with Foreign Embassies in India ;

(c) Liaison with semi-official and non-official organisations like the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, the Indian Council of World Affairs and similar bodies and Universities of foreign countries ;

(d) Study of problems of Indians abroad, who are born and domiciled in foreign countries, and assisting them so far as possible in such matters as, defining their status and rights, etc., and, in case they suffer from any disabilities, bringing the matter to the notice of the public and the Government concerned. This work was undertaken specially in South Africa, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius, East Africa, Fiji and West Indies ; and

(e) Extending the moral support of the Congress as also any possible help to the people of the Foreign possessions in India in their freedom movement. Guidance and assistance are also given to the Congress Committees of the neighbouring territories, when necessary.

II. Delegations and visitors from foreign countries are received by the Department. In the year, 1955 it received visitors from Algeria, Tunisia, Ceylon, Burma, South Africa, East Africa, Indonesia, Nepal, Sikkim, British Guiana and Fiji. Delegations from the following countries attended the Congress Session at Avadi in January, 1955 at the invitation of the Foreign Relations Department of the AICC : Nepal, Sikkim, Burma, Ceylon and Algeria.

Apart from receiving them and having discussions with them, the Department helps in arranging their visits to places and institutions of importance in Delhi and nearby areas so as to enable them to have a glimpse of the glory of our past history and of our current activities in various spheres of social and economic advancement.

III. Special messages from the Congress President are transmitted to different countries, through the Department on suitable occasions.

We have been taking special interest in happenings in the following countries :

#### *South Africa*

The Indian National Congress has from time to time condemned the South African Government's policies of apartheid and racial discrimination which the Congress regards as a negation of basic human rights and a threat to world peace. It has, therefore, always extended its moral support to the oppressed people of Africa.

During the visit of Mr. Kotane of the African National Congress and Mr. Kachalia of the South African Indian Congress to India in summer this year, the Foreign Relations Department held frequent and detailed discussions with them. Interviews for them were also arranged with the Congress President and the General Secretaries. They were assured of the full moral support of the Congress in their fight for freedom.

#### *North Africa*

The Department has been in close contact with the freedom movements in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco under the French rule, and moral support of the Indian people is extended to the parties fighting for freedom in these countries. Information is supplied to the Government and the people of India with a view to enlightening them in this regard. Efforts are also made by us to focus the

attention of the democratic countries of the world on the colonial repression in North Africa.

### *Tunisia*

The Department has been in constant touch with the activities of the Neo Dastour Party of Tunisia. All possible help and moral support is being given to Tunisians by the AICC.

With the grant of Home Rule to the people of Tunisia, matters appear to have improved there to some extent. As there was a conflict in the Neo Destour Party of Tunisia in this context, a convention was called on November 15, 1955 in Tunisia. The Secretary of the Foreign Relations Department of the AICC was invited to attend this convention as a fraternal guest. Accordingly, Miss Mukul Mukherjee went to Tunisia and participated in the convention. On this occasion a special message was sent by the Congress President.

The Department held discussions with Mr. M. Moosoodi, Minister of State, Tunisia, during his visit to Delhi.

### *Algeria*

The Indian National Congress has been watching with concern the developments in Algeria. The People's Party of Algeria has been fighting for their freedom from the French rule. The Congress has often expressed its deep sympathy with the Algerians and assured them full support on behalf of the people of India.

The Foreign Relations Department had detailed discussions with Mr. Mohmad Yazid and Mr. Hussain Ayt Ahmed of the People's Party of Algeria during their visit to India. They also met the Congress President and the General Secretaries.

An appeal for funds to help those fighting for freedom in Africa was made by the Congress President. The response was very encouraging.



We have been taking keen interest in the activities of the Africa Bureau in India (organised by the African students studying in Delhi). This Bureau is publishing a journal, 'Resurgent Africa'. The Department is giving all possible help to this Bureau in bringing out the journal, and is in constant touch with the activities of these students.

The 'Resurgent Africa' deals with the problems of Africa and brings out the real conditions of the African people. The first issue of the journal carried a special message from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

### **Publications Department**

THE year 1955 started with renewed efforts for enhancing the popularity of the publications issued by the Department, including the three periodicals, *AICC Economic Review*, *Arthik Sameeksha*, and *Congress Bulletin*. The results have been quite encouraging.

Special Numbers of the *AICC Economic Review* and *Arthik Sameeksha* were brought out on January 21, 1955, marking the first day of the 60th Session of the Indian National Congress held at Avadi (Madras); on July 24, 1955, dealing with Village Panchayats in India; on August 15, 1955, marking the Independence Day; and on September 23, 1955, on the Second Five-Year Plan. Special Numbers in commemoration of the 61st Session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar are also to be out simultaneously with the publication of this report.

Nine issues of the *Congress Bulletin* have been brought out during the period under review. Points of general interest in the reports received from the PCCs are now being included in it.

The Avadi Congress resolution on a Socialistic Pattern of Society was followed up by the publication of a series of small pamphlets bearing on the subject. They were : SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY by Shri Shriman Narayan ; THE SOCIALISTIC PATTERN : *In terms of the Congress Resolutions* ; TOWARDS A SOCIALISTIC ORDER by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru ; and THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER by Shri U. N. Dhebar. Of these, the English editions of the SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY and TOWARDS A SOCIALISTIC ORDER have gone for revised and enlarged second editions.

The other publications brought out during the year include REPORT OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK COMMITTEE ; CONSTRUCTIVE WORK : *A Handbook for Congressmen* ; and THE EIGHTH YEAR OF FREEDOM.

A publication of over 500 pages on Village Panchayats in India is under print. Another of about 200 pages on the Co-operative Movement in India, and yet another containing about 80 pages on Insurance Business in India are expected to be brought out by the time this report is in the hands of the public. Further, a short History of the Congress in the form of a handbook for Congressmen is also under preparation.

Subsequent to the arrangement made with the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, as referred to in the last year's report, four low-priced pamphlets, viz., NAYA BHARAT, AZADI KE AUT SAL, SINCHAYI AUR BIJILI, and GAON KE UDYOG DHANDE, were brought out.

With effect from its first issue for 1956, the *Congress Bulletin* is proposed to be published in Hindi also.

Services of the Zonal Representatives are being utilised for popularising the AICC publications, with appreciable

results, and a series of publications, which will be useful to Congressmen and the general public, are being planned.

### **Economic and Political Research Department**

#### *AICC Economic Review and Arthik Sameeksha*

**T**HE Economic and Political Research Department of the AICC continued functioning actively, and the regular publication of the English fortnightly, the *AICC Economic Review* and the Hindi fortnightly, the *Arthik Sameeksha* was very successfully continued. The *AICC Economic Review* entered the seventh year of its publication with its issue dated May 1, 1955, and since then 18 more issues have been brought out. Since the Avadi Congress, 25 issues of the *AICC Economic Review* have been published. The Hindi fortnightly, the *Arthik Sameeksha* entered the fifth year of its publication on October 22, 1955. On this occasion it received the blessings of the Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar. Rajpramukhs, Chief Ministers, and other eminent leaders, economists, journalists and litterateurs from all over India sent it messages of congratulations and good wishes. Since the Avadi Session of the Congress, 24 issues of the *Arthik Sameeksha* have come out. Up-to-date, 141 numbers of the *Review* and 98 numbers of the *Sameeksha* have been published.

The *AICC Economic Review* and *Arthik Sameeksha* have gained still more popularity among Congressmen, economists, politicians and scholars. Articles and views published in the *AICC Economic Review* were widely reproduced and favourably commented upon by newspapers, journals and periodicals. *Arthik Sameeksha* articles were very widely reproduced in the Hindi Press and very much appreciated. The number of subscribers to both the

journals increased considerably during the period under review.

The *Review* has also drawn considerable foreign attention as is indicated by the increased number of subscriptions from far-away countries. Its articles have been commented upon in foreign periodicals and its Special Numbers have been reviewed.

In the period under review, three Special Numbers of the *AICC Economic Review* were published. These were : (1) Congress Diamond Jubilee Session Number, on the occasion of the Avadi Congress, (ii) Independence Anniversary Number (dated August 15, 1955) and (iii) Second Five-Year Plan Special Number (dated September 23, 1955) in order to cover the deliberations, discussions and decisions at the informal session of the AICC relating to the Plan-Frame, Village and Cottage Industries, etc. The Special Numbers were highly appreciated by the Press and the public alike.

Alongside, four Special Numbers of the *Arthik Sameeksha* were published. These were : (i) The Congress Diamond Jubilee Session Number, (at the time of the Avadi Congress), (ii) The Sarvodaya Number (dated March 25, 1955 on the occasion of the Sarvodaya Sammelan, Puri), (iii) The Independence Anniversary Number, published on August 15, 1955, and (iv) Second Five-Year Plan Special Number, (dated September 26, 1955 to cover the AICC deliberations and decisions).

The Hindi Press has been reproducing the articles and views published in the *Arthik Sameeksha* on a very wide scale ever since the Department began its publication on January 26, 1951, but during the period under review, the reproduction was more than ever.

Both the journals had the privilege of bringing before the public important economic issues and giving lead to

the discussions on problems such as Land Reform, Unemployment, Village and Cottage Industries, Ambar Charkha, Insurance, etc. The journals thus effectively participated in the great debate that went on in the country practically the whole of last year in connection with our economic policies and the shape of the Second Five-Year Plan, and significantly influenced the trend of discussions.

*Land Reform Committee and the Land Reforms Panel :*

In May, 1955 the Planning Sub-Committee of the Congress Working Committee briefly reviewed the progress made in Land Reforms in the different States of India. On this occasion the Department submitted to the Committee a number of notes on the implementation of land reforms in the States. It was decided to appoint a Committee consisting of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda (Convener), with Shri H. D. Malaviya, Secretary of the Economic and Political Research Department, to work as Secretary to the Committee. The Committee met in Berhampore in the month of May on the occasion of the AICC session. After discussion it was decided to reduce the progress of land reforms in each State to tabular form under the following heads :

- (i) Abolition of Intermediaries
- (ii) Tenancy Rights
- (iii) Rent Reductions
- (iv) Ceiling upon holdings

It was also decided to prepare a composite table indicating progress in the States under the above headings. The object in directing the preparation of such tabular representations was to enable a quick assessment for future discussions and decisions. After the Berhampore meeting, the Research Department got busy with the preparation of these tabular representations. In the meantime, however, the National Planning Commission appointed a Land

Reforms Panel, with Shri Gulzarilal Nanda as Chairman, to review the progress of land reforms in India and suggest a scheme for the Second Five-Year Plan period. Shri Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, and Shri H.D. Malaviya, Secretary of the Department, were among the members of the Panel. In view of the appointment of the Panel, the Committee at an informal meeting in New Delhi in July decided to postpone its work till the completion of the work of the Land Reforms Panel. The tabular representations, as directed by the Committee at its Berhampore meeting, were nevertheless prepared and published in the *AICC Economic Review* and the *Arthik Sameeksha* and were found very useful. The Land Reforms Panel having not yet completed its work, the Committee has not decided about its future course of action.

#### *Study of Village Panchayats :*

The useful work done by the Department in the preparation and publication of the Report of the Congress Village Panchayat Committee in 1954 was continued by further studies of the vast subject of Village Panchayats in India. The General Secretary, Shri Shriman Narayan, directed a thorough study of the subject, and a comprehensive project for the publication of a study on Village Panchayats was undertaken by Shri H. D. Malaviya, Secretary of the Department. The object was to present to the reader a study of the Panchayat Institutions in India and in the States in a book on the lines of the earlier work of the Department on land reforms in India. This study, entitled "Village Panchayats in India" by Shri H.D. Malaviya, is now in the press and is expected to be published soon. It is divided into three sections as follows : (1) Book One—Historical, (2) Book Two—Villages and Panchayats in Indian States, Today, (3) Problems of Panchayat Organisation. Running into more than 500 pages of Royal Octavo size, the study is likely to be found useful and informative.

The Central Council of Local Self-Government Ministers met in Simla in June, 1955 to discuss, among other things, the problems of Panchayats. The Congress General Secretary, Shri Shriman Narayan, and Shri H. D. Malaviya were invited as observers. On account of his preoccupations, Shri Shriman Narayan could not attend, and Shri Malaviya represented the AICC Office at the meeting of the Council.

### *Study of Insurance Business in India .*

The informal meeting of the AICC in New Delhi in September, 1955, convened to discuss the Plan-Frame, laid great stress on mobilisation of resources to provide funds for the expenditure proposed for the public sector, in order that the employment targets proposed may be attained. In this connection, among other things, the members emphasised the extension of the public sector to the field of Insurance. It was decided to study the question in the Department and the task was undertaken by the Secretary of the Department. The results of the study were serialised in the *AICC Economic Review* and were published in the form of a booklet entitled "Insurance Business in India : A Plea for its Nationalisation" by Shri H.D. Malaviya with a foreword by Shri Shriman Narayan.

### *Study of Co-operatives :*

Keeping in view the growing importance of the Co-operative Movement in the economy of India, the Congress General Secretary, Shri Shriman Narayan, directed a study of the Co-operatives in India. The study was undertaken by Shri Sunil Guha. The results of the study have been published under the title, "The Co-operative Way : A Handbook". The seven chapters of this book are (i) Principles of Co-operation, (ii) Forms of Co-operation, (iii) Congress and the Co-operative Movement, (iv) Progress of Co-operation in India ; (v) Co-operation in Selected Foreign Countries ; (vi) Co-operation and the Second Five-Year Plan,

and (vii) Co-operative Education and Training Facilities (State-wise treatment).

There are also three appendices : (i) Summary of the recommendations of the A. I. Rural Credit Enquiry Committee, (ii) How to Organise a Co-operative Society, and (iii) Co-operation as a subject of Special Study at the various Universities.

The book is intended for Co-operative workers, but will be found useful by everybody interested in the philosophy of Co-operation.

*Second Edition of "Land Reforms".*

"Land Reforms in India" by Shri H. D. Malaviya, published by the Department at the time of the Kalyani Congress in January, 1954, continued to be in demand both in India and in foreign countries. A second edition had therefore, to be, printed which also is now nearly exhausted.

### Library

**D**URING the year ending December, 1955, we acquired 1,421 publications and spent over Rs. 4,500 on purchase of new books. Besides, we received a generous gift of books from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri U. N. Dhebar. The details are mentioned as under :

(1) *From Shri Jawaharlal Nehru :*

Publications in Hindi	:	285
Publications in English	:	376
Publications in Urdu	:	83

(2) *From Shri U. N. Dhebar :* 83 publications

We extended our services to various Commissions, Committees, etc. (*viz.*, The States Reorganisation Commission, History of Freedom Movement in India, etc.) and Ministries and noted individuals.



Because of the increasing importance of the Library as a Research Centre for research on our National Movement and other current national and international affairs, the reorganisation of the Library was felt inevitable. Under the reorganisation scheme, we have secured the services of Dr. Jagdish Saran Sharma, as expert in library science. Shri Bannerji, newly appointed as Assistant Librarian, is also a trained hand. The following new services are being started in the Library to cope with the growing demand of our research workers and other readers :

(1) *Ready Reference Section* : This section meets the demand of the reference enquiries which we get from various people.

(2) *Vertical File System* : In order to provide a Reference Section out of the special materials, i.e., pamphlets, clippings of important articles from newspapers and periodicals, we have started this system.

(3) *Periodical Literature Indexing* : To draw the attention of our staff members and other research workers to the materials appearing in important periodicals received at the Library, index service is to be started soon.

(4) A Monthly List of the new books added to the Library has also been started. It is being distributed to our staff members and sent to all the Working Committee members and important local libraries.

For some time in the past, great need was felt for a Reference Book which can answer important questions regarding the social, political, economic, educational, cultural and literary aspects of the Indian National Congress. Keeping in mind this pressing demand, Dr. Sharma has been assigned to compile a Descriptive Bibliography of the Indian National Congress. The work has already been started and the book is going to be one of our official publications.

**Staff**

**I**N conclusion, we express our thanks to the members of the Staff. During the year, the staff of the AICC was strengthened by the transfer of Shri Ramdutt Dubey, Permanent Secretary of the Madhya Bharat PCC, to our Office. Shri Prem Chand Arya, our Librarian, left us, and Dr. Jagdish Saran Sharma has been appointed as Research Officer and Librarian, and Shri S. K. Bannerji as Assistant Librarian, as also Shri Ramesh Chandra to assist in the work of the Library. Shri C.G.R. Kurup has joined us as Editor of Publications.

Our Permanent Secretary, Shri M. P. Bhargava was selected by the Government of India as a member of the Indian Delegation to the Tenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. During his stay in the U. S. A., he studied the working of the Democratic and Republican Parties. On his way back, in London Shri Bhargava visited the Offices of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties.

Miss. Mukul Mukherjee of the Foreign Relations Department was invited by the Neo Dastour Party of Tunisia to attend their Convention in November. She was deputed to go there on behalf of the All India Congress Committee. Miss. Mukherjee was awarded the Decoration of "Commander" by the Tunisian Government, and there was great appreciation of her work among the women of Tunisia.

We are very grateful to our Hony. Auditors, Messrs. Dalal & Shah and Messrs. Chottalal H. Shah & Co. of Bombay. Audited accounts of the All India Congress Committee for 1954-55 are given separately.

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**PCC PRESIDENTS AS ON JANUARY 31, 1956**

<i>Pradesh</i>	<i>Name</i>
1. Ajmer	Shri Mukut Beharilal Bhargava
2. Andhra	„ Alluri Satyanarayana Raju
3. Assam	„ Mohindramohan Chowdhary
4. Bihar	„ Nandkumar Singh
5. Bengal	„ Atulya Ghosh
6. Delhi	Shrimati Subhadra Joshi
7. Himachal Pradesh	Swami Purnanand
8. Gujarat	Shri Kanhaiyalal Desai
9. Hyderabad	„ J.V. Narsingh Rao
10. Karnatak	„ C. J. Ambli
11. Madhya Bharat	„ Kanhaiyalal Khadiwala
12. Mahakoshal	Seth Govind Das
13. Maharashtra	Shri T. R. Deogirikar
14. Malayala	„ P. Vasu Menon
15. Mysore	„ S. Chenniah
16. Nagpur	„ M. D. Tumpalliwar
17. Punjab	Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir
18. PEPSU	Giani Zail Singh
19. Bombay	Shri S. K. Patil
20. Rajasthan	Master Adityendra
21. Utkal	Shri Biswanath Das
22. Travancore-Cochin	„ A. P. Udayabhanu
23. Tamilnad	„ P. Kakkan
24. Vindhya Pradesh	„ Yadvendra Singh
25. Vidarbha	Dr. Gopalrao Khedkar
26. Uttar Pradesh	Shri Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya















